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William Bradford and The Book of Common Prayer

By BEVERLY MCANEAR

WHEN William Bradford espoused the cause of George Keith in the Quaker Church, his press immediately became one of the bulwarks of the cause of that turbulent sectarian. And for years after he followed Keith into the Church of England and out of Pennsylvania, the larger part of the output of Bradford's New York press consisted of pamphlets defending the Anglican cause and denouncing the Quaker way of life. His alliance with the Anglican controversialists brought him more notoriety than profit, and, therefore, after more than a decade of this partisan warfare some of the local Anglican clerics decided that a subvention from the church would be both just and expedient. In 1704 John Talbot, one of the most energetic of the propagandists, urged Keith to bring Bradford's case before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Keith loyally forwarded the letter to the society.[1] But nothing

[1] John Talbot to George Keith, New York, Oct. 20 [1704], Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, A, II, no. 23 (Library of Congress transcripts) (hereafter cited as S. P. G. [LC trans.]). Talbot was the S. P. G. missionary at Burlington, N. J., 1705-1724. C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* . . . (London, 1901), II: 855.

was done. A bit later, five other Anglican missionaries to New York and New Jersey attempted more decisive methods. They proposed to Bradford that he print the Book of Common Prayer and the Tate and Brady version of the Psalms, promising to push its sale among their parishioners and to urge the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to purchase his printing when supplying the local missions. Furthermore, the vestry of Trinity Church in New York City agreed to advance £30 or £40 without interest to aid in the purchase of the necessary printing paper, and promised to use the Tate and Brady version of the Psalms in Trinity services as soon as copies of the text could be supplied. To this proposal Bradford acceded, undertaking to complete the task by Easter, 1706, and thus he was launched upon the piece of work he had first projected seventeen years before.[2] By early fall, 1706, he had fulfilled his contract except for printing the Church calendar, and by the end of that year the book was completed.[3] Thus in 1706 Bradford published in the same volume the first American editions of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England and the Tate and Brady version of the Psalms.

No copy of this book is known to be extant. All we know of the 1706 edition of the prayer book is that it was a quarto, printed in small type on about forty-five sheets and that it contained the Book of Common Prayer, the Tate and Brady rendering of the Psalms, and a calendar of religious festivals.[4]

[2] John Williams Wallace, *An Address delivered . . . at birth day of Mr. William Bradford . . .* (Albany, J. Munsell, 1863), pp. 37-39; *Early Records of Trinity-Church, New York City*, in: *Historical Magazine*, ser. 3, III (1874-1875): 104, Aug. 23, 1704; John Brooke, Geo[rge] Muirson, John Bartow, W[illia]m Urquhart, Thor[oughgood] Moore, John Thomas to S. P. G., New York, Nov. 12, 1705, S. P. G., A, II, no. 121 (LC trans.). Brooke was S. P. G. missionary at Hempstead, N. Y., 1705 and at Elizabeth, N. J., 1705-1707. Muirson was missionary at Rye, N. Y., 1705-1708. Bartow was missionary at Westchester, N. Y., 1702-1725. Urquhart was missionary at Jamaica, N. Y., 1704-1709. Moore was missionary to the Mohawks, 1704-1705 and at Burlington, N. J., 1705-1707. Thomas was missionary at Hempstead, N. Y., 1704-1724. Pascoe, *op. cit.*, II: 854-856.

[3] William Bradford to Jno. Chamberlayne, New York, Dec. 12, 1706, S. P. G., A, III, no. 57 (LC trans.).

[4] Aeneas McKenzie to Jno. Chamberlayne, Richmond County, June 13, 1709,

The appeal of the Anglican missionaries to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for a subvention for Bradford happened to reach the society at a time when that organization was debating measures to subsidize the exportation of prayer books and religious tracts to America, and Bradford was invited to supply samples of his work. He did so with promptitude, and followed with a suggestion that some American printer should be granted a royal patent for the sole printing of Anglican materials in the American colonies.[5] The result of Bradford's venture with the prayer book and not a little of his earlier life is related in his letter to John Chamberlayne, the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:[6]

New York,
Sir: 12 Septr. 1709.

Yours of the 25th August 1708 I reced. and shou'd have answer'd before now by the Ships of War that Sailed from hence this Summer, but was prevented by the great hurry I have been in this Summer upon the Account of the Expedition to Canada, but, having now some leisure, observe that You say You reced. the Letter or petition which the Missionaries here sent and that it was read in the Society; That you were directed to Order me to send a Specimen of the Common prayer Book which I had printed, but that you had never reced. any such Specimens from me.

To which I answer that I reced. your Letter and accordingly sent over some Examples of that Work, vizt., two by Mr. Honan who arrived safe in London and one by Capt. Cole who arrived in Bristol, and it was a more than ordinary Accidt. that neither of the said three Books came to your hands. However, the Book is printed (tho' to my loss) and is printed in 4to. on a Pria [pica?] Letter and contains about 45 Sheets and I printed 1000 of them. The paper cost 20 s[hillings] p[er] Ream & amounted to upwards of 100£. I took that Money up at 10 p[er] Cent interest,[7] which I have not yet been able to repay, nor have I

Will[iam] Bradford to [John Chamberlayne], New York, Sept. 12, 1709, S. P. G., A, V, no. 18, 53 (LC trans.).

[5] S. P. G. *Journal*, I, pt. 2, 14, 76, 81, 82, March 28, 1706, May 30, June 20, 1707 (LC photo); William Bradford to Jno. Chamberlayne, New York, Dec. 12, 1706, S. P. G., A, III, no. 57 (LC trans.).

[6] S. P. G., A, V, no. 53 (LC trans.). I have altered Bradford's punctuation and occasionally raised the first letter of the first word of a sentence to the upper case. Otherwise, the letter is literally transcribed.

[7] A good part of this sum came from Trinity Church and at least for the first six months was interest free. *Early Records of Trinity*, in: *Hist. Mag.*, ser. 3, III (1874-1875): 104, Aug. 23, 1704.

sold 50 of the said Books to this day, tho' I had expectation to find a much quicker Vent when I undertook that work, having been much importun'd thereto by Your Missionarys and others who signifyed the great want there was of them and how much they wou'd encourage its sale when printed. But now that I have been at the Charge and perfected the Work, the Sale is very slender and I like to be a great loser thereby, (some of the Gentlemen that encouraged it being dead & others remov'd)[8] as indeed I have by most of the Books I have printed on Account of the Propagation of the Gospel since the Year 1691 when the differences began between Mr. Keith and the Quakers in Pensylvania, before which time I was in the quakers' Interest and had some reputation among them. And in the Year 1689 I was invited to return to England by some of the Chief Quakers in London, and Andw. Sowle, the Quakers' printer (my wife's father), who being antient was minded to lay down that business and advised me to take it up.[9] In order to which I sent my Wife and Children to England and made preparations to follow after, but, upon my being near ready to imbarque for England, the said differences betwixt Mr. Keith and the Quakers broke forth, and, I, being Zealous in that Cause (by the perswasion of Mr. Keith and other his Friends), defer'd going for England[10] and after some time sent for my family back and went on to print against the Quakers' Errors, tho' the sale of those Pamphlets did not answer the Charge. Yet by reason of my being warm in that Cause, I helpt to spread that Controversie far and near, and, as Mr. Keith very well knows, printing was a Means of bringing many off from Quakerism in such places where Mr. Keith cou'd not go to preach and Converse, and many of those persons have since joyned with the Church. Whereas of the many hundreds of those Quakers in these parts that have joyned with the Church, I believe there's not ten to be found that were not Keithian Quakers (as we were called), and, since Mr. Keith went to England, I have not only continued to print such Books and Papers as have occasionally been writ here, but reprinted several of the Books which Mr. Keith writ in England and some of Mr. Lesly's Tracts also, and spread them over these Countries, which have been judged to do good Service in these parts, tho' they have not answer'd the Charge to me.[11]

[8] Four of the six missionaries who, so far as we know, had urged the publication on Bradford had died by September, 1709, but all were alive and in either New York or New Jersey at the time Bradford's Book of Common Prayer was published. See note 2 above.

[9] Andrew Sowle, a long established London printer, had been Bradford's master. Sowle retired from business in 1691 and died in 1695. Bradford married his daughter, Elizabeth, in 1685. Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States* . . . (New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1936), II: [1], 407, note 2.

[10] Bradford neglected to state that the Quaker yearly meeting promised him a subsidy of £40 a year and aid in his business for staying in Pennsylvania. Charles S. R. Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing. The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784* (Philadelphia, Matlack and Harvey, 1885), I: 13.

[11] These reprints of works by George Keith and Charles Leslie seem to have disappeared.

Now by reason of my not going to England, my said Father-in-Law gave his Quaker printing over to his daughter, Tace Sowle, who (tho' a Woman) has got very considerably by it, and (as I am told) has put 500£ out to Interest. Mean time I have been labouring hard here with my own hands in the Work and Service abovemention'd and been a loser thereby; nay, had I betaken myself to any other business in this Country, I might (in all probability) have made better proof. About 4 or 5 Years ago, my said Sister, being (as I suppose) inclin'd to leave off the business she was in, writ to her Sister (my Wife) that, if I wou'd come to London and serve friends faithfully, she wou'd give that business over to me, which proposal I never answer'd, and as a Christian I thought I ought to reject.[12] However, sometimes I think my Lot is very hard that I shou'd spend the prime of my Years at hard Labour with the expence of my small Stock or Substance I once had in serving the publick, and never have any manner of encouragement whatsoever.

Secondly, you say, Sr., that by reason of your not receiving a Specimen of that Work (the Common prayer that I have printed) you fear 'twil turn to my disadvantage, because it has been moved in the Society That a Large Quantity of Bibles and Common prayer Books shou'd be sent to the Plantations to be sold at Prime Cost &c.

To which I say that, if the miscariage of the Books I sent doth turn to my disadvantage, I cannot help it, and, if it shou'd so happen, I pray God give me patience to submit to that misfortune as he has done to bear many discouragemts. I have met with (by reason of my services abovemention'd) for these 16 or 17 Years past, and for which the Quakers are become my most inveterate Enemies, and all my relations in England (being Quakers) are offended with me to the highest degree; and as my concerns have lain among that People their prejudice has been to my very great disadvantage; and the Quakers in Pensylvania (since I left them) have procured a Press of their own and a printer out of Holland, who is upheld by their publick Stock and is encouraged to print most things that are advantagious, and, the Quakers being the greatest Bulk of People, he has all their encouragement as well as his Chance among other people.[13] Mean time I, having expended most of my small Stock, can't do those things which sometimes there might be Advantage in, having not only been a loser in the business abovemention'd but have also served the Government here so long as I have been able,

[12] In 1691 Tacy Sowle took over the business of Andrew Sowle. She later married Thomas Raylton, likewise a Quaker and a printer, and for some years in the early eighteenth century the business was maintained in the name of J. Sowle. Tacy Sowle's name later reappeared in the business, which continued for decades. McMurtrie, *op. cit.*, p. 407, note 2.

[13] This press the Quaker yearly meeting certainly had bought in England, but, other than Bradford's statement, there is no evidence that Jansen was also imported to operate it. McMurtrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10, 408, note 15. However, it is clear that Bradford had no connection with Jansen, not only from the above statement but also from an earlier comment. W[illia]m Bradford to Jno. Chamberlayne, New York, Dec. 12, 1706, S. P. G., A, III, no. 57 (LC trans.).

and of late Years (under my Lord Cornbury)[14] not got my Salary so that I have now above 600£ in Arrears wch. I am never like to get, the province being so much in Debt.[15] This being my Case, some time past Your Missionaries and several others perswaded me to undertake to print the Common prayer, urging the great Want there was of of [*sic*] them, and some of the said Missionaries promised to take each of them 10£ worth of the said Books when printed for the use of their Respective parishes, upon which I undertook & perform'd it. But the engagement to me has not been answered, the Gentlemen chiefly concern'd being dead and gone, and those parishes vacant; and, if it shou'd so happen that the Society (out of the Generous Inclination they have to promote Religion in these parts) shou'd send Common Prayer Books &c to be sold here at prime Cost, it wou'd add much to my discouragement, especially now that I have spent my small Substance and the prime of my days at hard Labour in making publick those things that have been of Service to promote the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And whereas you are so Kind as to Advise me to apply to Col. Heathcote[16] and Col. Quary[17] and that, if I can make it appear to them that it will be more for the Advantage of the Mission to take prayer books of me than to have them from England, no doubt but the Society wou'd adhere to the advice of those Gentlemen, I have accordingly made Application, and those Gentlemen have something to offer to the honble. Society, but, by reason of their distance of Living (which is above 150 Miles apart), they have not yet had the happiness to meet together since I reced. yours (except once this Summer) in Council (in New York) upon the expedition to Canada, when the Service of the Publick wou'd not admit them both to stay in Town.[18]

[14] Lord Cornbury was governor of New York and New Jersey, 1702-1708. E[dwin] P. T[anner], *Edward Hyde Cornbury*, in: *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1944), IV: 441, 442 (hereafter cited as *D. A. B.*).

[15] In the years to come, Bradford solved this problem by printing the journal of the assembly only when he felt like it. G[abriel] Ludlow, Affidavit, New York, Oct. 31, 1718, Misc. Mss. Bradford, New-York Historical Society. However, by 1717 apparently he had been paid in full. *The Colonial Laws of New York . . .* (Albany, J. B. Lyon, 1894), I: 630, 816, 949, 955; *Journal of the Votes . . . of the General Assembly . . . of New York . . . 1691 . . . 1765* (New York, Hugh Gaine, 1764-1766), I: 350, [354], 358, May 25, June 18, 1714.

[16] Caleb Heathcote (1666-1721) came to New York as a merchant but soon retired to Westchester County to develop his extensive landholdings. He was a member of the S. P. G. D[ixon] R[yan] F[ox], *Caleb Heathcote*, in: *D. A. B.*, VIII: 491, 492.

[17] Colonel Robert Quary was Governor and later Secretary of South Carolina, 1684-1690. He then became Judge of the Admiralty in New York and Pennsylvania and Inspector for the Treasury. He was also a member of the Councils of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Edmund B. O'Callaghan *et al., eds., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York . . .* (Albany, Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1853-1887), V: 199, note 1.

[18] There is no evidence that Heathcote and Quary ever did intervene in behalf of Bradford.

This being the State of my Case, I hope, Sir, you will excuse this long Letter, and permit me farther to Add that, seeing the Noble Society are inclined to send Books over to these parts, and that there are several sorts of Books that might be of service to inform people in the doctrine and discipline of the Church which might sell here, pray let me make this following proposal, vizt., That, if the Society will please to send over such Church Books as I shall write for and let me have the Advantage of the Sale of them, for every 50£ worth of Books I so receive I will deliver here (to the Order of the Society) 50 of my Common Prayer Books and 50 of the Weeks Preparation towards a Worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper[19] wch. I have reprinted here and pay all Charges of the Books so sent (as porteridge, Wharfage, ffreight & Insurance with the prime Cost of the same) and give security to Col. Heathcote or Col. Quary that, in six Months after my receiving the respective parcels of Books, I shall make returns to the Society for the prime Cost and Charges, and that in Bills from the Missionaries here (if to be got) on the Society. And I propose further that such parcels of Books be consigned to one or both the said Gentlemen that, on my receiving the same from them, I may give such Security as above propos'd. If the Society shall think meet to do something this way, it may be of service to the Church and a help to me; for, by this means such as cannot or will not buy Prayer Books may be supplyed gratis, and unless there be some way found out to supply this Country with good Books at an easy rate, People must be without them in these parts; for Books will not advance in Price as other Goods do, and therefore the Merchants will not bring them over. But the Quakers find out a way (by their public Stock) to bring great Quantities of their Books into all these parts, and sell them at an easy rate; so also there are plenty of others dissenters' Books scatter'd up and down almost in every Town to be sold in all these parts, but no Church Books, whereas if a way cou'd be found to get them here at an easy rate, they wou'd sell. Pray, Sr., excuse this long Letter and make what use of it you shall see Cause. If it shall please God to order it so that the Society do any thing in this way for the advantage of the Church and Propagation of the Gospel, it may be of some Advantage to me and I shall be glad. If not, I must be content and depend on that Gracious providence of God that has hitherto supported me thro' many difficulties. I conclude and remain

Your humb. & Obliged Servt.,
Will. Bradford.[20]

The society never received a copy of the 1706 Bradford edition of the Book of Common Prayer, nor did the printer ever re-

[19] I have been unable to find any copy of this work or any entry in Joseph Sabin *et al., comps., A Dictionary of Books relating to America* (New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1868-1936) or in Charles Evans, *comp., American Bibliography* (Chicago, Privately printed, 1903-1934).

[20] I have omitted a long postscript dealing in cursory fashion with the state of the Church of England in New York and New Jersey.

ceive patent, subvention, or patronage from England.[21] In fact, in 1710 the society sent over to its missionaries prayer books and religious tracts to distribute as gifts. Naturally, Bradford was mortally wounded. Nor were the missionaries entirely happy, for dissension broke out among the parishioners when the latter discovered the supply was too small for all to have copies.[22]

It is possible that this blow to his hopes of aid from the society caused Bradford to publish his edition of 1710 simply as a means of disposing of the remaining sheets of the 1706 edition. For everyone agreed that the 1706 printing did not sell, partly at least because semi-literates found it difficult to cope with its poor printing.[23] And since Bradford originally printed a thousand copies and by 1709 had sold only fifty, he certainly could have had little difficulty in assembling a very sizable edition from sheets long printed and lying in his shop. With the addition of an appropriate title-page, the 1706 printing would thus have become the 1710 edition. In fact, the description of the 1706 printing applies equally as well to the 1710 issue, of which there is a perfect copy in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[24] But Bradford's efforts in 1710 could hardly have profited the printer more than his earlier venture, for in 1711 Trinity vestry released him from repayment of the money he borrowed to purchase paper.[25]

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania also owns an imperfect copy of still a third edition. This book cannot be dated because of a mutilated title-page. Clearly, however, it was published later

[21] S. P. G. *Journal*, I, pt. 2, 223, Dec. 30, 1709; II: 302, Oct. 20, 1710 (LC photo).

[22] W[illia]m Bradford to [John Chamberlayne], New York, July 25, 1710, S. P. G., A, V, no. 155 (LC trans.); Elias Neau to [John] Chamberlayne, New York, Oct. 3, 1710, S. P. G., A, VI, no. 43 (LC trans.).

[23] Aeneas McKenzie to Jno. Chamberlayne, Richmond County, June 13, 1709, S. P. G., A, no. 18 (LC trans.).

[24] Sabin, *comp.*, *op. cit.*, XV: no. 64998.

[25] *Ibid.*; W[illia]m Bradford to [John Chamberlayne], New York, July 25, 1710, S. P. G., A, V, no. 155 (LC trans.).

than 1710 because there were added six psalms missing from the 1710 publication. And, in view of the poor sale of the books, years must have elapsed between the two issues. Nevertheless, despite these additional psalms, the inclusion of an authority to print the Tate and Brady version and a title-page of markedly different composition than that of the issue of 1710, peculiarities of typography and paper prove that the bulk of the sheets of this third edition were printed at the same time as were those in the 1710 issue.[26]

Bradford's method of manufacturing multiple editions out of the same printing may have been carried further to publish separately in 1706 or early 1707 the section containing the Tate and Brady version of the Psalms. Although no copy of such a book has ever been catalogued nor can now be located, this hypothesis is supported by two bits of evidence. In 1704, a month before the Trinity vestry agreed to grant financial assistance to the publication of the Book of Common Prayer, the vestry resolved to use the Tate and Brady Psalms "as soon as they may be had." On August 21, 1707, the vestry resolved that henceforth only this translation would be used in Trinity services "since the New-Version of Psalms are printed. . . ." Clearly the church was relying on Bradford's edition. Now the congregation must have been fairly large, for at that time Trinity was the only church in New York City conducting services in English. Yet in 1709 only fifty copies of the Book of Common Prayer had been sold by the printer, and, therefore, unless Bradford issued the Psalms as a separate publication, Trinity could hardly have secured enough copies to conduct services. Furthermore, it will be recalled that there is good reason to believe that the 1710 edition was merely the 1706 printing with a new title-page. In the later edition, the section comprising the Tate and Brady translation was not only printed on paper and with type unlike those of any of the other sections of the book, but seems to have been run off

[26] Sabin, *comp.*, *op. cit.*, XV: no. [64999].

"several months later with improved facilities. . . ." But Bradford himself stated that the last section of the 1706 prayer book on which he worked was the calendar of religious festivals. If it be correct that the 1710 edition was actually the 1706 printing, where else did the sheets for the Tate and Brady rendering go except into a 1706 or 1707 issue of the Psalms alone?[27] Similarly, in 1710 Bradford may well have published the Tate and Brady as a separate, and Evans catalogued but did not locate such a title.[28] It obviously would have been a simple matter to pull extra sheets of this section of his edition of the prayer book, and it is to be noted that the Tate and Brady version of the Psalms is the only section of the prayer book which has numbered pages, a procedure that suggests independent publication.

Thus it is clear that what has always been cited as the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer in America actually was the second, and it is possible that an American edition of Tate and Brady as an independent publication appeared as early as 1706 or 1707.

[27] *Early Records of Trinity*, in: *Hist. Mag.*, ser. 3, III (1874-1875): 104, 269, July 24, 1704, Aug. 21, 1707; William Bradford to Jno. Chamberlayne, New York, Dec. 12, 1706, S. P. G., A, III: no. 57; Will. Bradford to [John Chamberlayne], New York, Sept. 12, 1709, S. P. G., A, V, no. 53 (LC trans.); Sabin, *comp.*, *op. cit.*, XV: no. 64998.

[28] No copy can be located. Evans, *comp.*, *op. cit.*, I: no. 1444.

An American Typographic Tragedy—the Imprints of Frederick Conrad Bursch[1]

Part II. Hillacre Bookhouse

By Thomas A. Larremore

That . . . subtle-tempered will
That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust.
Lowell, *Commemoration Ode.*

THESE lines, written originally about one far greater than Jugurtha and Fred Bursch put together, nevertheless apply well enough to the printer of Greenwich to justify their quotation here. For within two years after his first mental collapse, and after the date of the latest imprints of The Literary Collector Press so far found (1906),[2] there ap-

[1] The quotations from Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company [1931]); and Ella Winter and Granville Hicks, editors, *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, 2 vols. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company [1938]); are used by permission of the publisher and copyright holder, Harcourt, Brace and Company, to whom the sincere thanks of the writer are extended.

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[2] Part I of this essay, in Bibliographical Society of America Papers, XLIII: 24 (1949).

peared, in 1908, the first similar dated product of Hillacre Bookhouse.[3] Bursch, endowed with Teutonic "persistency and definite purpose of action,"[4] had sprung back again. Within a few years he was working harder and achieving greater typographic success than before. Indeed this intrinsic "*Stahlwertigkeit*"[5] of Bursch enabled him, later still, to rebound, after a second breakdown (following the failure at Hillacre), in a riposte that regained for him some of the poise thus lost, even though the second recovery lasted only briefly.

Establishment of the Bookhouse

The new venture, Hillacre Bookhouse, also lay in Connecticut's Greenwich, but in a different section, Riverside, south of the Old Boston Post Road, east of Cos Cob and, from the latter, just across the leisurely Mianus River where this begins to widen into Cos Cob Bay or Harbor. Low hills rise gently from this northern "Eastern Shore" and on one of them Mrs. Bursch's sister, and the latter's husband, Edward P. Williams, an ex-Captain of United States Volunteers in the Civil War,[6] had established a home for the sisters' mother and the Bursch family. Later the Bookhouse was built, specifically as a printatorium. The Bursches never lived therein, although still later two upstairs rooms were finished as living quarters for two roomers.[7] The entire "estate" covered about one acre in area, hence "Hillacre." Although actual legal title seems never to have passed to Mr. and Mrs. Bursch,[7] so that they must have occupied the new quarters as tech-

[3] Anonymous [believed to be Mary Churchill Ripley] *The Tiffany Studios Collection of Antique Chinese Rugs* (New York [The Tiffany Studios] N.d. [but copyright, 1908]).

[4] Letter, dated May 5, 1947, from Dr. Francis J. Petrone.

[5] This word coined by writer, the nearest English approximation, "stalwartness," not yielding the meaning desired.

[6] PAPERS, XLIII: 31.

[7] Most facts contained in this paragraph are derived from a letter, dated May 11, 1949, from Mr. Robert Williams Dennis, adopted son of the Bursches, who retained his own name. This letter is used as the source of additional information, later in the essay.

Mr. Dennis, in this letter, says "The lot in Riverside was purchased by Mrs. Wil-

nical tenants, there they lived and labored (for Mrs. Bursch was active, too) until the new enterprise, in turn, collapsed. After that, and after Captain Williams died, the Bookhouse, then a residence only (but with some of Mr. Bursch's imprints and memorabilia still left behind) was sold by Mrs. Williams to its present owners, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Eyre Hunt.

Bursch, in the heyday of Hillacre, 1915, wrote of his new establishment in the foreword of his sole self-advertising catalogue, entitled *The Hillacre Books*,[8] as follows:

HILLACRE

At Riverside, Connecticut, between the road and the river, lies an acre of land, long and narrow and tilted up a little toward the west, so that the dwellers by the road at the top may look out across the valley to the setting sun. Half way down the hillside stands a sunny stucco house built to shelter books, the makers of books, the types and presses and papers and inks wherewith they make the books. The men and women who make the books love the Bookhouse and the sunshine. The dwellers by the road at the top of the hill, the squirrels in their trees at the bottom and the birds that tend their garden midway, all love the Bookhouse and the sunshine. May you find the love and sunshine in the Hillacre Books!

Whoever has watched the winter sun setting, in eruptions of orange, over the cold, steel blue surface of a Connecticut river down by the edge of the Sound can realize very easily how this spectacle, watched by Bursch evening after evening, may easily have induced him to drop the red previously relied upon in his printing, for orange, and to combine the latter with blue and other pastel shades as he did in so much of his work at Hillacre. Lincoln Steffens, located very near the Bursches at Riverside, himself wrote,[9] December 21, 1909, of this self-same winter

liams." However, the records of conveyances of the Town of Greenwich show that the land was conveyed by Russell Doubleday to Edward P. Williams (alone) in May 1907 (Liber 111, page 382); that the record title passed to Mrs. Williams, from the Estate of Edward P. Williams, apparently by a Certificate of Distribution dated May 18, 1911 (Liber 131, page 492); and that the conveyance of the Bookhouse property from Mrs. Williams to the present record-title holder came in 1922 or 1923 (Liber 201, page 83).

[8] Frederick C. Bursch, *Hillacre Books* (Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, Spring MCMV [an obvious error for MCMXV]).

[9] Steffens, *Letters*, I: 233-234.

outlook, in one of his rare moments of aesthetic appreciation,

> The sun is brilliant, and it evidently gives out some heat, but the earth is cold . . . and the night leaves us each morning with more and more of the harbor covered with ice. It is beautiful. I either never knew or had forgotten how lovely the winter could be; I mean the Eastern winter.

Ésprit Général du Ménage

Hillacre, like its predecessor, The Literary Collector Press, was printshop and publishing house combined. But now, freed from the need of getting out a magazine "on time," Bursch was at liberty to print and publish what he pleased, dressed up as he wished to clothe it, and when, provided he could keep the stretched ends meeting. "Private" printing was undoubtedly contemplated. And "commerial" work could not be forsworn because of its value, in the stretches, as a financial turnbuckle. Mr. Sniffen has said there was much of it, now lost.

The reader can judge for himself how the institution finally shaped up by comparing some of Mr. Bursch's statements of that time with others made recently, in retrospect, by one of his principal helpers at Hillacre, now Dr. Francis J. Petrone, of Fall River, Massachusetts.

In Mr. Bursch's above-mentioned catalogue of 1915[8] occur two revealing passages as to *objectives* of the Bookhouse. On page 4 he wrote,

> HILLACRE BOOKS
>
> I. THE REPRINTS
>
> The Hillacre Reprints are such things as you have often wished someone would rescue from an old magazine or bulky volume and reprint in a form convenient to hand and eye and not too costly to give to friends. Frederick Bursch offers you your choice of 30 essays in prose and verse which he has reprinted at Hillacre for himself and his friends and their friends.

On page 20 he added,

> Some of the best things you can buy at Hillacre are the books that have not before seen type.
>
> The original publications of the Bookhouse are few as yet, but more are com-

ing when more of the same sort present themselves in manuscript. Hillacre is proud of the few volumes of poetry and prose for whose first issue it is responsible.

These statements are good, as far as they go. They illustrate how Bursch wanted not only to print beautifully, but to turn out material of good literary quality, which appealed to readers for content as well as form, at reasonable or cheap prices. This, in turn, shows the close *ideological* resemblance of Bursch's *Hillacre Books* to those underlying *The Mosher Books,* from which, indeed, Bursch is said by some to have borrowed the general plan, although Bursch's formats at Hillacre were his very own. But the statements do not tell the whole truth. For they omit all mention of the tendency to favor "leftist" writers, which, in the end, definitely has established Hillacre as one of America's "radical" presses. And they say nothing about the "private" and "commercial" printing which must have provided a large share of the financial fodder needed to make the mare go, nor, in fact, say much about the pecuniary aspect at all.

Dr. Petrone has confirmed the general tenor of Bursch's statements but added considerable additional detail as to the actual conduct of the shop. Reading between his lines, moreover, one can get some idea as to the probable cost, in time and money, of the fastidiousness of the proprietor. Dr. Petrone wrote,[10]

My experience almost runs like a fairy tale. I started my venture at . . . 14 as a printer's devil at Hillacre for $3. a week—doing all kinds of work, mail boy, domestic boy, general cleaning, janitor service, gradually working into the *Art of Printing,* because printing at Hillacre was an Art—not a Business. . . . After 4 years, 1912-1916, I decided to return to school and study medicine.

[Elsewhere Dr. Petrone has written that he worked "for Mr. Bursch from 1912-1918"]. . . .[11]

And he added, later,[4]

Mr. Bursch was erratic and changeable. . . . He may have made you change colors many, many times, or set up many samples of type, but he finally would get what he was looking for—if not all was lost—no job was done. All this manoeuver-

[10] Letter, dated April 11, 1947, from Dr. Francis J. Petrone.

[11] Letter, undated, received September 15, 1948, from Dr. Francis J. Petrone.

ing, washing presses to change colors [compare Theodore L. De Vinne "stripping presses" to get *The Century Magazine* printed properly[12]] was the thing that used to burn me up, but not Mr. Bursch. Mr. Sniffen [Mr. Bursch's senior compositor and pressman] stuck right with him, making suggestions. And many times we would work into the night—on holidays or Sundays—to work out these little problems. But in the end Mr. Bursch would have the right set-up, right color scheme, the right paper, and everything else. In other words, he was very fussy and particular.

And Dr. Petrone has also emphasized Hillacre's hospitality to "radical" authors by describing it as a place "where many tired, progressive writers got rest and inspiration."[11]

Equipment at Hillacre

Before discussing the various classes of imprints done at Hillacre, a brief description of the typographical equipment at the Bookhouse seems demanded.

As pointed out earlier, the printer somehow appears to have satisfied *in fact* (though not of record) the chattel mortgage given on his *matériel* at The Literary Collector Press and moved to Hillacre "the same typefaces and presses which he used when he was in Greenwich."[13] All this ground has been covered before,[13] and adequate discussion given of both the Self Spacing Old Style and Ronaldson types, which were used for most of the book work at Bursch's first press, and of the Caslon which replaced these at Hillacre.

Other equipment was added. The official Personal Property Records of the Town of Greenwich show at least three conditional sales[14] (all on the installment plan) made to Bursch in Hillacre days by The American Type Founders Company. The first (in 1915) was for a "Second Hand Pearl Printing Press

[12] Thomas A. Larremore and Amy H. Larremore, *The Marion Press, A Survey and A Check-List With Incidental Alarums, and Excursions Into Collateral Fields* (Jamaica, New York, The Queens Borough Public Library, MCMXLIII), pp. 58-59; also p. 52; also pp. 112-116.

[13] Papers, XLIII: 25.

[14] I Personal Property Record, Town of Greenwich, Connecticut, 1913, pp. 216, 347; II *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 102.

#1541." This was to cost all of seventy dollars. But the liquidation of this tremendous sum (without any down payment) had to be stretched out over a period of seven months, at ten dollars per month, with 6% interest per annum. The second sales agreement (also in 1915) embraced a "Hartford Printing Press" and one "60-cycle, Single Phase Century Duplex Variable Speed Motor." Apparently only partial payment had been made for these by 1917, when a third agreement was executed, covering obviously the same instruments and, in addition, some "Brass Rule" and "1 font 10-pt. Cloister Bold." Bursch also must have added, at Hillacre, some Della Robbia and other Cloister types, and an old style face resembling Caslon but which has been identified definitely as Old Style No. 583.[15] According to Mr. Sniffen, no machine setting was done at Hillacre, such jobs being "farmed out," as had been done at the first Press.

Most interesting of all the new material at Hillacre, however, is a set of "leaf-and-tendril" initials, whose source or designer has not been discovered so far. These initials, apparently used first in 1912 and employed as late as 1917, are square ($1\frac{3}{16}$ inches each way), with large Roman capital letters against a "leaf-and-tendril" background, whose tendrils pierce the shafts of the capitals. Seven different such initials have been discovered, used in varying color schemes in ten Hillacre imprints.[16] Mr. Sniffen has written about them, "I do not recall a full alphabet," and "The large leaf-and-tendril initial letters . . . were made from a draw-

[15] Anonymous, *American Specimen Book of Type Styles* ([Jersey City, New Jersey], American Type Founders Company, 1912), pp. 132-133.

[16] IN GRAY AND ORANGE: "A"—George Bernard Shaw, *An Essay on Going to Church*, 1915; "I" (twice)—Eça de Quieroz, *The Sweet Miracle*, 1913, and John Galsworthy, *Gentles, Let Us Rest*, 1914; "J"—Alexander Forbes, *Essays—Read Before The* FORTNIGHTLY *of Mt. Holly, New Jersey*, 1914; "T" (twice)—Edwin L. Godkin, *A Letter on Lincoln*, 1913, and Clarence Darrow, *The Skeleton in the Closet* (two variants), 1914. IN BLUE OUTLINE: "I"—Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, *"If Every Face Were Friendly,"* 1913; "W"—anonymous [believed to be Edna Christine Abbott] *Out Of The War A New Life*, 1917. IN GILT AND BLUE: "B" Grace Potter, *What We Did To Bernard Carlin*, 1912. IN RED: "H"—Oscar Wilde, *The Happy Prince*, 1912. The letters found so far are "I" (three times), "T" (twice), "A," "B," "H," "J," "W," (once each). More examples may yet be found.

ing by an artist. I do not know his name. I do not know whether he [Bursch] had them drawn by either [Frank A.] Nankivell or [Robert Edmond] Jones."[17] The writer will welcome any further information about the initials.

"IF EVERY FACE WERE FRIENDLY"

T actually happens to most of us when we are born, and for some time after; but this must be simply because we are weak. Few infants are beautiful; still fewer meritorious; and indeed the friendliest face of all is hers whom our one exploit has just afflicted with in-

Earliest Hillacre Imprints

The opening *tempo* of production at Hillacre was *adagio*. The earliest-dated books found are *The Tiffany Studios Collection of Antique Chinese Rugs*, copyrighted in 1908,[3] and Oscar Wilde's *Shakespeare and Stage Plays*, published in 1909,[18] the latter of which might have been turned out by Bursch's first press, if judged only stylistically. There are a few items (besides the broadsides)[19]

[17] Two letters, undated, but received, respectively, in March and April, 1949, from Mr. William L. Sniffen, Sr.

[18] (New York, N.p., 1909.)

[19] All the available information about these broadsides is included in the section of the Check List devoted to them.

whose dates cannot be determined, but of these only Emerson's essay, *On Wealth,*[20] looks as if it might have been a contemporary of the two just mentioned.

The book on Chinese rugs, however, marked a definite typographical turning-point for Bursch, and exhibits a seasoned maturity which must have augured well for the new Press at the time. Together with the Wilde imprint, it symbolized the printer's renunciation of Self Spacing Old Style as his principal book face and his formal adhesion to "The Caslon Crowd."[21] This, of course, lined him up even more positively with his original school of "Plain Printing Types." But simultaneously he moved, in the same rug book, farther away from that school than ever before, in a manner to be elaborated in the next section.

In one respect, however, Bursch deviated less than any of the "Plain Printing Typers," except Frank E. Hopkins,[12] from the tenets of that school, namely in rejecting the floridity and ornamentation of Kelmscottiana.

Bursch's Use of Color at Hillacre

Before discussing further the various Hillacre imprints let us consider, first, one ingredient that runs through many of them, and amounts to a virtual hallmark of the Bookhouse—the use of color as an idiomatic, independent, integral, overall value in the planning and printing of a book.

Bursch's experiments with color at his first Press have been noted.[22] How did they continue and develop at Hillacre?

To begin with, red, the former favorite illuminating color of Bursch (as for all exponents of the school of "Plain Printing Types") gave way to orange, the former favorite being used relatively rarely at the Bookhouse. The light gray which Bursch

[20] (Riverside, Connecticut, The Hillacre Bookhouse, N.d. [but prior to 1915].)

[21] See Carl P. Rollins, *The Caslon Crowd* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924). First printed at The Montague Press in 1916. See also Larremore, *The Marion Press*, p. 169.

[22] Papers, XLIII: 25-26.

had been trying out in *The Collector Reprints* became, more and more, "standard equipment," especially in three-color title pages and labels. Brown began to be featured, especially towards the final *débâcle*. As to the printer's chromatic sensitivity, Dr. Petrone has already borne eloquent witness. Robert W. Dennis, Mr. Bursch's adopted son, has confirmed this by telling the writer of seeing the Bookhouse's floor strewn, more than once, with sheets of expensive stock, discarded because the exact colorations of the imprintings upon them were not "correct."

Bursch's color work at his first Press was, in the beginning, purely typological. Towards the end, however, the printer was developing "a new personal typographic idiom,"[22] in which color was employed *bibliogenetically*, *i.e.*, as a color scheme for the *tout ensemble* of an imprint, planned deliberately as part of its design and production. This idea came largely to control the work turned out at Hillacre. And in turning it into a typographic policy, so to speak, Bursch became one of the pioneer American printers thus to employ color. In this, as in substituting orange for red, as his color of primary reliance, Bursch pushed far beyond the orthodox tenets of the school of "Plain Printing Types." Thus considered, Bursch, as a typographic colorist, resembles most closely, in the writer's opinion, Thomas Maitland Cleland, although Bursch never used typographic color outrightly pictorially as Cleland has done so effectively.

At least three different general, overall, color plans can be traced in Hillacre imprints. That used most often placed heavy reliance on a rich, warm brown (for board covers or paper wrappers, slip-cases, and even end papers) relieved by orange and black title pages and labels (with light gray added frequently) or gilt lettering on the covers, and with orange or other pastel initial letters. The basic brown was eminently practical, since it did not soil or mar easily. And it was over on the reddish side far enough to blend well with orange or gilt. This format became standard, not only for the so-called "Hillacre Reprints"

and the "Wallet Books," but for many other imprints as well. An especially attractive example is Edward Eyre Hunt's *Haj, the Law and the Prophets*[23] (featured, incidentally, by a beautiful title page in pure Caslon Old Style Italic). On the other hand, Bursch tended to overdo this format, so that eventually it became too stereotyped or even formulistic.

The second general plan, altogether different in underlying concept, cannot be delimited so categorically. Its essence was the employment of pastel shades, in various combinations and arrangements, including pleasing contrasts. This, of course, amounted essentially to another break with, or advance beyond, the ideas of the men of "Plain Printing Types." Bursch's general, fundamental substitution of orange for red, and his use of light gray (blended usually with orange) are obviously examples of pastelizing. And his color-juggling with the "leaf-and-tendril" initials, already mentioned,[16] is another. Perhaps the finest examples of pastel coloring in the Hillacre imprints are Randolph Hartley's *The Quest of Heart's Desire*[24] (featured, incidentally, by another beautiful title page in pure Caslon Old Style Italic), with its apple-green covers and end papers contrasting with orange inking; the anonymous *The De-e-e-lights of Tim*,[25] with its gray boards and end papers against text printed in orange and brown; the dummy cover and label for Robert Edmond Jones' proposed reprint of Shelley's *The Cenci*, discussed later; and Grace Potter's sociological protest, *What We Did to Bernard Carlin. . . .*[26] The last two are open, perhaps, to the criticism that their pastel lightness and delicacy do not seem exactly appropriate to the grim subject-matter involved, and hence are not "allusive," to employ the contemporary terminology. Nevertheless, disregarding this, both of them remain, intrinsically, optical delights.

[23] (Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, 1916.)

[24] (Riverside, Connecticut, The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1916.)

[25] (N.p., Privately Printed at Hillacre, 1918.)

[26] (Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, Christmas-Tide, 1912.)

The third plan, although used the least, is the most consistent and significant of all. Essentially it contemplates the use of a single color in contrast with the black of ink, or even entirely throughout an imprint (save for white paper) *for even the printed text.* Bursch turned out, as far as is known, two examples of this class, one of each variety. The first was his card of re-entry into the printing field, *The Tiffany Studios Collection of Antique Chinese Rugs.*[3] In this the text is printed in black but, aside from the rich "Strathmore Japan" paper, everything else is in blue—Missal initials, descriptive legends, cover (in two shades of blue), even the end papers being of figured blue on white. The other is an almost completely unknown little volume (anonymous, but believed written by Edna Christine Abbott), *Out of The War a New Life.*[27] In *this* item *even the text* is printed in blue—nothing but the paper (white) and the silver title and vignette on the outer front cover being anything but blue, a striking example of chromatic unity. In these two volumes Bursch, in the writer's opinion, attained the consistent apogee of his own theorizing and turned out what, also to the writer, are his most interesting imprints of all, if not also his most beautiful. They will hold their own with anybody's work, done in that period. Other probable Hillacre items of the second variety are the yearbooks of The Brook, a New York club, attributed to Mr. Bursch and discussed in the Check List.

By 1915 Hillacre was so committed to the use of color that Bursch, in his catalogue, *Hillacre Books,*[8] could say (p. [32]), "The presses at Hillacre are designed for the finest half-tone *and color* printing" [writer's italics].

While others had anticipated Bursch in substituting orange for red,[27a] nevertheless, in view of all the evidence, it seems clear

[27] (New York, Published for the Abbott Foundation Fund, Maison Beaufait, 1917.)

[27a] Updike of Merrymount had so used orange, notably in his small imprints for T. Y. Crowell & Co. So, too, had occasional others, such as The Imperial Press, of Cleveland, Ohio, as in George French, *About Book Making An Address Before The Rowfant Club in Cleveland* (Cleveland, The Imperial Press, MCMIV).

that Hillacre was a pioneer American press in bibliogonomic utilization of color (or chromatic book-planning, if one prefers simpler language). Certainly in this respect the printer of Riverside made a valuable, if generally unappreciated, contribution to American typography.

Hillacre Imprints—*Tempo Accelerando*

After the earliest years the *tempo* of production at Hillacre stepped up. By 1915 it had become *vivace*, if not *presto*. There were reasons. To be sure, Bursch, no longer tied down with a magazine, still welcomed "private" printing and tolerated "commercial" work. But by and large he was a printing publisher, interested in reprinting standard literary material and in turning out new "books that have not before seen type,"[8] all in "form convenient to hand and eye and not too costly to give to friends."[8] Of course his artistic ideals of creating beautiful typography never wavered. His problem, therefore, was to turn out products of interesting intrinsic appeal, dressed up in superfine format—at low prices. Obviously this implied mass production (and good marketing—of which more later).

Mass production called, in turn, for an augmented staff; imprints smaller, physically, on the whole, than those of The Literary Collector Press; and cost-cutting. Expansion of the staff took place when Francis J. Petrone, as stated, joined up in 1912 as printer's devil—ultimately to develop into second technical assistant to Mr. Bursch and to Mr. William L. Sniffen, Sr., who had formerly been the printer's right bower at his first Press. Some girls were taken on, besides, to do the folding and the paper binding. And Mrs. Bursch is said to have been very active helping at the new Press in this period. How things worked out can be traced, to some extent, by comparison of Hillacre imprints with those of The Literary Collector Press, in size and binding. Aside from the abortive edition of Shelley's *The Cenci* (planned by Robert Edmond Jones) no Hillacre book discovered compares

in size with *The Pendleton Collection* or *Old Time Wall Papers*,[28] although David S. Greenberg's *A Bunch of Little Thieves* comprised 321 pages. Some cost-cutting was achieved by binding chiefly in paper-covered boards or paper wrappers, only four Hillacre items bound otherwise (in cloth) having been discovered.[29] But Mr. Sniffen says, orally, that items over eight pages long had to be sent to New York for stitching and then returned to Hillacre for binding. And, of course, the augmented staff meant an augmented payroll.

Hillacre Imprints—Broadsides

Not included in *The Hillacre Books*, 1915,[8] because, it is believed, they were not printed until thereafter, is a typologically important and very beautiful class of Bookhouse imprints—the undated broadsides.[19] Almost nothing is known about them save what may be discovered by analyzing the broadsides themselves. The writer believes that these beautiful typographical specimens were probably printed privately, some, perhaps, for Bursch's personal satisfaction. Such details as have been discovered are given in the Check List. Nine broadsides, in all, have been located. One, John Reed's *Fog*, appears on three variant papers. Four bear a definitive legend—*Hillacre Broadsides*—yet there does not seem to be any substantial, intrinsic difference between such and the others, not so labeled. Six, including these four, have limitation notices (five of one hundred copies each, one of fifty). All but the two variants of *Fog* are done on dazzling white handmade paper (Nordeling, Tuscany, or unidentified). All but two are printed in Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials, the other two being in Cloister Old Style (*not* Cloister Black). All are inked in black and orange. To the writer, these broadsides reveal Bursch

[28] Papers, XLIII: 19-20.

[29] The Tiffany rug book (see Note 3); Theodore Schroeder's *Free Speech for Radicals;* the Ives-Lamb joint effort *The Last Ditch of the Southern Confederacy;* and *Babbler* (for 1915), the yearbook of the students of Miss Ely's School. The yearbooks of The Brook, *attributed to* Hillacre, are bound in half-leather.

at his best, doing jobs he wanted to do, for the sake of creating typographical beauty—and they represent the quintessence of Hillacre.

Hillacre Imprints—Commercial Items

As pointed out already, Bursch had to do some commercial potboilers at Hillacre as well as at his first Press. By and large, those he did at both places were excellent. In fact the two Hillacre items praised so highly for "chromatic unity"—the Tiffany Studios rug book[3] and *Out of the War*[27] were commercial items. Another attractive book for the Tiffany Studios, attributed to Bursch (in absence of any specific proof) because of its very specific similarities to his work at Hillacre, is the anonymous *Character and Individuality in Decorations and Furnishings* [1913].[30] He is said also to have done others for this firm, although no more have been discovered. For Hoggson Brothers, Bursch is definitely known to have printed several items, only one of which has been located.[31] For "The Traffic Club of Denver," Hillacre did a 750-copy edition of *Laconigrams, Projected or Purloined by Wilton Lackaye* [*Sr.*][32] to be used in connection with Mr. Lackaye's presentation of Cleveland Moffett's play, *The Battle,* in Denver, October, 1910. Only one sale catalogue has turned up (although there are believed to be others), a booklet printed to help sell *"Ingleside," New Canaan, Conn.*[33]

[30] (New York [with Boston and Chicago offices also mentioned], Tiffany Studios, [1913].)

[31] Anonymous, *The Hoggson Building Method . . .*, see Check List (New York, N.pub., [1910]). Letters, dated March 28, 1947, and May 27, 1948, from Hoggson Brothers, Inc., state that the firm has in its files neither imprints by nor information about Mr. Bursch or Hillacre. A letter, dated June 9, 1948, from The Engineering Societies Library, New York, per Robert W. Goodrich, Reference Librarian, states that it has been impossible to identify any Bursch-Hoggson imprints there.

[32] (New York, Liebler & Co., 1910.) A letter, dated May 24, 1948, from The Chamber of Commerce, Denver, Colorado, per Harry S. Dickinson, indicates that the former [Colorado] Traffic Club "passed out of existence shortly after the year 1910" and that the present "Traffic Club of Denver . . . did not come into existence until the year 1920."

[33] (N.p., N.pub., N.d.)

Hillacre Imprints—"Reprints," "Wallet Books," "Odd Formats"

In the 1915 catalogue,[8] Bursch divided the standard works he was reprinting into three classes: "The Hillacre Reprints"; "The Wallet Books"; and "Odd Formats." The Reprints were "printed from Caslon type on deckle-edged Utopian paper made especially for these books and sewed into brown Neapolitan paper covers, with a labelled slide-case." The Wallet Books comprised fifteen little reprints generally the same in format as the Reprints, save that for covers the Wallet Books were hand-stitched into heavy brown paper wrappers with protective, wallet-like flaps, whence the name derived. The fifteen Wallet Books were divided into three series, "each series of five being arranged in a neat brown box [really a slip-case] with two-color label on the back, ready for the book shelf." Or, if sold separately, "each book is provided with a mailing wrapper." These Wallet Books produced at least one direct stylistic imitation.[34]

Both classes had "title pages and labels printed in two or three colors," came with slip-cases, or mailing wrappers, and were printed most fastidiously. With the Reprints priced at thirty-five cents each, and the Wallet Books at twenty-five cents (or each set of five for a dollar),[8] obviously the paper was not their only Utopian feature.

Under "Odd Formats," Bursch lumped such reprints as "evaded classification." The several items so listed in the 1915 catalogue varied greatly. Stevenson's *El Dorado*, for instance, was printed on special lightweight Omodaka Japan paper;[35] Grace Potter's *What We Did to Bernard Carlin*[26] . . . , is, as stated, one of Bursch's finest color-jobs. Emerson's essay *On Wealth* is one of the few Hillacre items reverting to Self Spacing Old

[34] Clarence Darrow, *Response of . . . to Birthday Greetings, April 1, 1918* (Chicago, The Walden Book Shop, N.d.). Whether other such items appeared or not is unknown.

[35] (Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1913.) See also *Hillacre Books* (in Note 8), p. 19.

Style types. About this imprint Bursch wrote in *Hillacre Books* (p. 18),[8]

> Since our bank gave 500 copies of this essay to its depositors for a Christmas gift, the trains to town often hold men getting acquainted with Emerson's sound ideas on wealth, who might never have tackled the two volumes of essays.

Lincoln Steffens' Hillacre Imprints

Bursch printed three small works by Lincoln Steffens.[36] And, at the suggestion of the great Muckraker, he turned out a fourth item, a reprint of Gilbert K. Chesterton's *The Ultimate Lie*. Of the latter the printer himself said, on page 28 of *Hillacre Books*,[8]

> . . . it was reprinted originally at Lincoln Steffens' suggestion to afford his friends a private chuckle as they handed it to Ultimate Liars—who usually have no idea that they *are* Liars.

In view of all this, an analysis and discussion of the relationship between the two men seems indispensable, especially considering the position of the Bookhouse as a "radical" press of its period.

We do not know how, when, or where Bursch and Steffens met. The latter had spent summers in Cos Cob since 1902, had bought seventy acres there, and was writing from "home" there on August 5, 1905.[37] In 1903-1906 Bursch was operating The Literary Collector Press in Greenwich, next door to Cos Cob. By June 3, 1906, however, Steffens had sold his Cos Cob land (for twice its cost) and was settled in his new home, Little Point, in Riverside, after considerable "rowing a boat or sailing in search of seashore property."[38] Mr. Williams bought the hillside acre in Riverside in May, 1907.[7] Bursch's first Hillacre imprints are dated 1908[3] and 1909.[18] Certainly by 1910, when the printer's first production of any work by the Muckraker appeared,[36] the latter (by

[36] *The Least Of These A Fact Story*, 1910; *Out Of The Muck*, 1913; *Free Speech With And Without*, 1914.

[37] Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp. 436-442; *Letters*, I: 157, 169.

[38] Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp. 440, 584; *Letters*, I: 175. Apparently Little Point, Riverside, had been bought some time before August 5, 1905. *Letters*, I: 169.

then a national figure[39]) and the former had become neighbors and friends.

Before beginning further analysis, however, it seems desirable to sketch the backdrop against which the interplay of personalities developed. To begin with, Steffens, on occasion, could become as intolerant as the industrialists and conservatives against whom he inveighed. Perhaps the most indefensible example of such conduct is his patronizing, bitter, and adolescent diatribe against Taft School and Yale University (with Harvard faring better only as the best of a bad lot).[40] To Riversiders (the inhabitants of his new home) he reacted similarly in kind, although less extremely in degree, according to his own words, in his *Autobiography*, as follows,[41]

> I sold the seventy acres "back of Cos Cob" and bought Little Point where, like Seton [Ernest Thompson Seton, located in the hinterland of Greenwich] I went to work. . . . I gradually sank into Little Point *not into Riverside* [writer's italics]. We saved ourselves from our rich neighbors by being what they called "stinkers," what we called "snobs"; we "associated" only with oystermen, fishermen, and the "bum" writers and painters of Cos Cob.

One hardly knows how to take this statement. Taken with a grain of salt, it could make out of Steffens a *poseur*, which he does not seem to have been. Interpreted literally, however, it means not only that Steffens deliberately violated one of the most fundamental canons of American small-town ethics, neighborliness, and thus risked losing his well-earned nickname, The Gentleman Reporter,[42] but that he went "high-hat" locally. Persons in the Muckraker's position seem morally justified in throwing up breastworks against bores, celebrity hunters, "fat cats," and "stuffed shirts." But if the passage quoted is to be taken literally, he seems to have gone much too far.

[39] Charles A. Madison, *Muckraker's Progress*, in: *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXII: 405, 414 (Summer, 1946).

[40] Steffens, *Letters*, I: 326-327.

[41] Steffens, *Autobiography*, p. 584; *Letters*, I: 247, 264.

[42] Steffens, *Letters*, I: xiii. Note his extremely courteous letter to the Sound Beach Fire Company, January 13, 1910. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Opinions as to what actually went on differ. On the one hand Mr. Walter Lippmann, at one time Steffens' "Secretary," and collaborator in the local muckraking of Greenwich, has written,[43]

> As far as I am concerned, I never saw a trace of the high-hatting process . . . , but then of course I lived in Riverside, Connecticut, only a short time and was much too young then to have taken part in the life of the community.

On the other hand, the Bursches' adopted son, Mr. Robert W. Dennis, has volunteered this,[7]

> It is true that Steffens had very little to do with the people of Riverside like X—— and Y—— [the real names being withheld] *et al.* (The Bursch family knew them well. I went to school with their sons and we were close friends.) Steffens went more with the Cos Cob crowd. Very often he would stop at the house and pick up Bursch and take him along , . . . But Bursch was not too keen about that crowd. He referred to them as "not doing anything constructive, just talking."

Since Mr. Dennis did grow up in the community, the writer believes that Steffens spent little time gladhanding Riversiders. However, the reader must draw his own conclusions.

The question next arises: what was the relationship between Steffens and Bursch? The latter was neither an oysterman or fisherman, nor a "bum" writer or painter of Cos Cob, merely a Riverside resident and a printer. Nevertheless there sprang up between the two men a *rapprochement* that was, according to Mr. Lippmann,[43] "exceedingly warm-hearted and friendly." This is confirmed by the following from a mutual friend,[44]

> During the period in question Steff was an intimate and valued friend of both Mr. and Mrs. Bursch. He was away from Riverside a great deal but when there was frequently at their house and at the Bookhouse.

But the strongest evidence of all comes from Mr. Dennis, who has written,[7]

> I remember Lincoln Steffens quite well. In 1910 he taught me to swim at his place on the river near the Riverside Yacht Club. He used to come to the house

[43] Text from Mr. Lippmann's letter, dated May 9, 1949, quoted by permission. See also Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp. 592-597; *Letters*, I: 266-267.

[44] Letter, dated May 5, 1949.

about once a week for dinner, and he was usually around the place on Sunday. He and Bursch used to go for long walks during good weather . . . Steffens and Bursch both liked ships, boats and sailing. Steffens had some kind of a sail boat, or somebody he knew had one that he used [perhaps the very boat in which the Muckraker had gone hunting "seashore property"[38]], and he and Bursch sailed quite often. I believe that they also went on a trip together, either to Bermuda, the Barbados or South America, as I have a picture . . . taken on the boat in a storm. As I remember it, they got on very well with each other.

In view of this it is strange to find Bursch and his imprints almost completely ignored in Steffens' writings. In the *Autobiography*, they are not mentioned. In the *Letters* they figure only four times, twice in brief commentary, twice in mere footnotes.[45] The first commentary, dated December 25, 1910, and written at Little Point, deals with the earliest Bursch-Steffens imprint of all, as follows,[45]

The little book wasn't made ready for Christmas. It's at the bindery, however, and we'll be getting the first copies tomorrow or the next day. It's a good book, well made. Bursch has printed it with his clearest, neatest type on his best paper, for he loves *The Least of These* as much as anybody else does.

The brevity of this comment may, perhaps, be due in part to the fatal illness from which the Muckraker's first wife was then suffering, and from which she died, less than three weeks later. But the second passage, dated August 1, 1913, is even briefer, reading,[45]

You got, all of you, the little book *Out of the Muck* which Bursch has printed (perfectly, I think; I didn't note an error in my reading of it). Copies were ordered to each of you.

Only one letter between the two men (dealing with business matters, and discussed later) has apparently survived. As to Bursch, so far as Steffens is concerned, despite their friendship, "The rest is silence." Why?

The writer's best guesses are that, as to the friendship, Steffens considered it altogether personal and hence probably unin-

[45] Steffens, *Letters*, I: 214n, 254-255, 284n, 325. As to the special incidents concerning *The Least of These*, consult *ibid.*, pp. 214, 234, 254-255, 285.

teresting to his readers. As to Bursch's printing, the writer is convinced that Steffens was a man of too narrow and limited aesthetic appreciation properly to appreciate Bursch's work. Study of both the *Autobiography* and the *Letters* reveals little, if any, sensitivity on Steffens' part towards aesthetic qualities. His emphasis seems always to fall, instead, on sociological, economic, moral values. And his interest lay, apparently, in artists rather than in art.

The Muckraker's attitude towards typography, *as an art*, can be induced from the details of the comments on his two books just quoted, plus his attitude towards Bursch by comparison with that towards the artists of "the Cos Cob crowd." As to the comments, *Out of the Muck* was considered "printed perfectly" simply because no error, apparently typographic, was discoverable. With respect to *The Least of These*, its paper was definitely *not* Bursch's "best" (since that was either handmade or Japanese), but merely, instead, serviceable, honest, respectable, machine-made stock. The type face, Caslon Old Style No. 71,[46] was, indeed, excellent, but there is nothing to show that Steffens understood why, or that to him any other typographic rose, say Cheltenham, would not have smelled as sweet. The phrase "Good book, well made" boils down to mere comfortable vaguity. A friend objects to this evaluation on the ground that Steffens "was a moralist and not a critic of art."[44] To the writer, however, this merely clinches the case. For, by and large, moralists are not noted for aesthetic perception, sensitivity, sympathy or even tolerance. One needs but recall the Roundheads of England, the American Puritans, and certain clergymen allergic to music as a handmaiden to Divine Service. Perhaps one should not be too hard on Steffens for this shortcoming, however, since appreciation of *typography as an art* has been one of the slowest and latest cultivated tastes to develop among Americans. But it does look

[46] *Desk Book of Type Specimens, Borders, Ornaments, Brass Rules and Cuts* (N.p., American Type Founders Company, 1900), pp. 100-101, 244-245, 483-487.

as though he knew next to nothing about art printing and cared little for it. Far more appreciative of Bursch's fine work have been four Harvard classmates, of 1910; Edward Eyre Hunt (orally); and Robert Edmond Jones, Walter Lippmann, and the late John Reed, discussed hereinafter.

Steffens' lack of expressed reaction towards Bursch *as a potential creative artist* underscores what has gone before. To the Muckraker, "the men of paint," such as Twachtman, Ochtman, Childe Hassam, Charles Ebert,[41] were definitely "artists," as were undoubtedly, also, "the men of rhyme" and other writers—certainly the Cos Cobbers. But not one passage discovered in Steffens' writings indicates that he ever viewed his printer-friend as an artist.[47] The writer would feel far more general admiration for Steffens had the latter left any positive statement that he regarded his friend's beautiful imprints as anything more casual than the mechanical products of a mere craftsman. It just never seems to have entered the Muckraker's head that Bursch, in his line, was quite as eminent and talented an artist as were most of the Cos Cob coterie in theirs.

There remains the matter of business relationship. A friend believes that Bursch undertook to print and publish the three Hillacre reprints of works by Steffens as part of the necessary gambling indigenous to publishing. He has written,[44]

> . . . the initiative unquestionably lay with Mr. Bursch and as I know in other connections the proposal to publish probably came from him.

Most of the concrete evidence surviving as to business dealings between the two men concerns the first of these reprints, *The Least of These*. This little book, based on actual fact, was written in 1909 as a Christmas *story* for *Everybody's Magazine* and printed as an (overdue) Christmas *book* in 1910. While apparently misunderstood by many readers of the magazine, the tale nevertheless seems to have inspired John Reed to overcome his own

[47] *Cf.* PAPERS, XLIII: 1.

misgivings and to keep on fighting the good fight on Steffens' behalf, after the fiasco of the forlorn-hope, "Golden Rule," excursion in the McNamara dynamiting case at Los Angeles.[45] Thanks to Granville Hicks, a copy of a letter from Bursch to Steffens (apparently the only piece of correspondence between the two surviving), outlining the publishing arrangement for the book, has been made available. Dated March 28, 1911, the letter reads, in part,

> Dear Lincoln Steffens. On Thursday afternoon I am sailing for Bermuda and as "men who go down to the sea in ships" sometimes do not come back, I am sending you a memo. of an agreement regarding the publication of "The Least of These" as I understand it.
>
> The agreement was that I was to bear the expenses of manufacture and publication and that we would equally divide the profits. It seems to me that covers everything and will do quite as well as a quantity of legal verbiage. When I return I shall make up a statement and send it to you.

While the gross amount involved probably did not amount to a big figure, nevertheless this agreement sheds a great deal of light on the mental processes of Bursch, the publisher. Boiled down, the letter means that the impecunious printer, a bad manager financially, with one commercial failure already blemishing his record, was to assume all financial risk, while Steffens, a most astute business man personally, and apparently even then of independent means because of successful investments and speculations,[48] took no chance at all but was guaranteed half the profits. Standing without further explanation, all this has a sinister implication as to Steffens' possible part in the transaction. But at least two explanations exist, exonerating the Muckraker from any possible charges of over-reaching a friend. One is the statement[44] that Bursch took the initiative merely as a regular incident of business as a publisher. The other, advanced by Mr. Dennis, goes further, and, in fact, yields one of the finest examples found of Bursch's quixoticism. Wrote Mr. Dennis,[7]

[48] Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp. 310, 440, 584; *Letters*, I: 146, 169, 188.

Bursch felt sorry for Steffens, as he held no paying job, and seemed to feel that Steffens was up against it, so made the arrangements to print "The Least of These" so that perhaps Steffens could make some money. For a man who never thought about money himself, he seemed to spend a lot of time worrying about it for his friends who didn't seem to have any.

Greater irony hath no tale than this!

Hillacre Imprints—Books for Three Harvard Classmates

Far more productive were the relations between Bursch and four members of the celebrated Class of 1910, Harvard College: Edward Eyre Hunt (whose home now is the Bookhouse itself); Robert Edmond Jones; the late John Reed (pioneer American Bolshevik, buried in or under the Kremlin); and Walter Lippmann. The latter "met Bursch through Steffens."[48] Presumably the other three did, also, for, as undergraduates at Harvard they had met Steffens.[49]

And warm personal friendships developed between the Bursches and the three first named, who seem, ultimately, to have been made free to come and go at the Bookhouse about as they pleased. Mr. Bursch's adopted son, Mr. Robert W. Dennis, has told orally of lively paper chases over the Greenwich hills, himself playing "hare," with Hunt and Jones in hot and fresh pursuit, as "hounds."

Aside from Mr. Lippmann's letter just mentioned[43] the only record of any association that has come to light is a letter from him to Bursch,[50] inviting the latter and his wife to dinner at that hostelry, alas recently closed forever, New York's famous Lafayette, and thanking the printer for a book, thus,

Thank you ever so much for "The Message of Anarchy." It is a positive joy to have such a beautifully printed book. You might be accused of a kind of artistic Jesuitism, for any message in such a dress would be plausible.

[49] Letter, dated April 11, 1949. According to Steffens, *Autobiography*, p. 593, the Muckraker did not meet Lippmann, who took his degree in 1909, but retained his membership in the Class of 1910, until the latter had graduated.

[50] Letter, dated December 21, 1912, Lippmann to Bursch. Quoted by permission.

For Edward Hunt, Hillacre turned out one book already mentioned, *Haj, the Law and the Prophets,*[23] an amusing and mildly affecting narrative of the adventures of a bewildered Persian Mahommedan, domiciled in Manhattan, trying to reconcile the tenets of Arabic law with those administered in a New York Police Court. The italic title page is unusually attractive.

With Jones, Bursch collaborated on a big poster (perhaps planned as a folder) entitled *Dramatic,*[51] and on some "Poster stamps."[8] Bursch also printed at least two sets of letterheads, bearing drawings designed by Jones, for friends of the latter.[52] But the most interesting Jones-Bursch item unfortunately never got past the preliminary stage, although it bade fair to become Hillacre's most ambitious imprint. This was to have been a stage-version of Shelley's tragedy, *The Cenci,* giving the full text, with commentaries elucidating Mr. Jones' then radical views as to stage setting, and with eight plates by him to illustrate his ideas as applied to this play. Since the artist finally had six of his drawings, and with them a revised version of his theories, published in *Theatre Arts Monthly,* for June, 1924,[53] his earlier theories (as advanced in the material left with Bursch) will not be discussed here.

The printer composed a galley of Caslon types, to show how the text would start, and he also set up some other material supplied by Mr. Jones. And he prepared a "dummy," with light-blue cover and pastel-colored labels, with several folded signatures of brilliant handmade paper. Bursch also printed at least four of Jones' plates, one showing, *in red,* a cardinal's robe which appears *in black* in the same cut in the *Monthly.* As to these illustrations Mr. Jones has written,[54]

> Some of the drawings were made in Italy in 1912, some in Berlin in 1913—

[51] "Bobby Jones and Fred Bursch made this at Hillacre in May MDCDXV."

[52] One series was made, apparently, for the home of Mr. Sam Lewisohn, Peaked Hill Bar, Provincetown, Massachusetts; another for Miss Charity G. Finney, then of Finney Farm, Croton-on-Hudson, New York.

[53] Robert Edmond Jones, *Six Drawings For The Cenci,* in: *Theatre Arts Monthly,* VIII: 408-[421], June, 1924.

I do not remember which or where. I don't remember how many of them Fred printed—probably all those that are in the dummy.

The cardinal's robe was intended to be red. *Theatre Arts* does not produce illustrations in color.

The writer regrets that the work did not go through, although Bursch's delicate color scheme seems hardly appropriate to the grim and somber text of Shelley, and also might have clashed with Jones' massive illustrations in stark black, white, and bright red. He also echoes the regrets, expressed in another and later printing of a stage setting for the same play, that Jones never had a chance to try his ideas, described as quite in "disregard of realism," in actual practice.[54a] Finally he regrets that the moving and dignified address delivered by Mr. Jones at "Founders' Night, 1947" at "The Players" can never be clothed in dignified and appropriate typography by Mr. Bursch, who would have done a good job with it.

The five items printed at Hillacre for John Reed will be treated next.

Hillacre Imprints—Works of John Reed

Since Reed was a pioneer American Bolshevik, the five items printed for him by Bursch[55] could be called "radical imprints." But, as to subject-matter, they are not "radical" at all and show their author as a *littérateur* rather than as a social iconoclast. The two broadsides (*Fog* and *To Max Eastman*) and the book, *Sangar*, are among Bursch's finest works. In these the printer's "art preservative" has preserved his friend's literary art most tastefully.

The young radical and the older printer were warm friends. Reed, in his Foreword to *Tamburlaine*,[55] after explaining that his

[54] Letter, dated May 20, 1948.

[54a] Arthur C. Hicks and R. Milton Clarke, *A Stage Version of Shelley's Cenci* (Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945), pp. 26, 44-45.

[55] Broadsides (undated); *Fog* (on three variant papers); *To Max Eastman:* Books; *Sangar, To Lincoln Steffens* (title on front cover reads, *Sangar: the Mad Recreant Knight Of The West*), 1913; *The Day In Bohemia . . .*, 1913; *Tamburlaine And Other Verses*, 1917. Bursch is mentioned only once, and in connection with *Tamburlaine* alone, in Granville Hicks, *John Reed; The Making of a Revolutionary* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1937), p. 231.

main object in printing such juvenilia (which not all of it was) was to exercise himself the pleasure (usually reserved for literary executors) of selecting what to keep and what to discard, added,

> My only other excuse for inflicting the book upon the public is the irrepressible enthusiasm of my good friend, Frederick C. Bursch, maker of beautiful books.

On the other hand, the printer, in the colophon to *Sangar*,[55] described it as "written by John Reed (God Bless Him)." And he took a chance of litigation over "literary property" by apparently printing *Fog* at a time when Reed had recently written him,[56]

> Scribner's will *not* release "Fog" to us for publication before they have published it—even if the volume were a private one with a circulation of about fifty. They don't know when they can run it.

We must be thankful that Bursch took the chance. For *Fog* did not appear in *Scribner's Magazine* until August, 1919,[57] by which time the Bookhouse itself was only a memory. The two letters to Reed from Mrs. Bursch, quoted later, show further the intimate character of the friendship between the radical poet and the printer folk at Hillacre.

Sangar, composed by Reed as a tribute to Lincoln Steffens after the latter's unsuccessful attempt to get the laws suspended and the dynamiting McNamaras (of Los Angeles) and their cause handled out of court (on the celebrated "Golden Rule" theory), precipitated a definite misunderstanding on the part of Steffens, as well as a pair of contradictory statements from him about it. On December 24, 1911, he wrote his sister, mentioning the poem, stating that Reed had read it to him, and declaring, "It is good."[58] However, in the *Autobiography*, published in 1931, Steffens contradicted this in part, thus,[59]

[56] Letter, dated only "November 9."

[57] *Scribner's Magazine*, LXVI: 228 (August, 1919).

[58] Steffens, *Letters*, I: 284.

[59] Steffens, *Autobiography*, p. 690.

FOG

DEATH comes like this, I know —
Snow-soft and gently cold;
Impalpable battalions of thin mist,
Light-quenching and sound-smothering and slow.

Slack as the wind-spilled sail
The spent world flaps in space —
Day's but a grayer night, and the old sun
Up the blind sky goes heavily and pale.

Out of all circumstance
I drift or seem to drift
In a vague vapor-world that clings and veils
Great trees arow like kneeling elephants.

How vast your voice is grown
That was so silver-soft;
Dim dies the candle-glory of your face —
Though we go hand in hand, I am alone.

Now Love and all the warm
Pageant of livingness
Trouble my quiet like forgotten dreams
Of ancient thunder on the hills of storm.

Aforetime I have kissed
The feet of many gods;
But in this empty place there is no god
Save only I, a naked egoist.

How loud, how terribly
Aflame are lights and sounds!
And yet I know beyond the fog is naught
But lonely bells across gray wastes of sea. . .

By John Reed

THE EDITION OF THIS BROADSIDE CONSISTS OF
100 COPIES, PRINTED ON NORDELING HAND
MADE PAPER, AT HILLACRE, RIVERSIDE, CONN.

Jack Reed, "my own boy," wrote a fierce poem, "Sangar," denouncing me. It was good poetry, however, one of his best, so that it was worth while.

Since Reed had died in 1920, quite possibly he never knew of this later view. It seems wrong. The writer agrees with Granville Hicks that Reed meant the poem as a tribute, even though it seems doubtful to him that, under the grim circumstances, Jesus would have "laughed and laughed."[60] However, Reed's title, *as it appears on the front cover of Bursch's imprint*, is not completely felicitous: *Sangar: The Mad Recreant Knight of The West.* For while many people still consider Steffens mildly "mad" for jousting so quixotically with the grinding windmills of California law, he probably never so regarded himself, and did not relish being so described. Moreover, "recreant"[61] (meaning "apostate, false, unfaithful") Steffens most certainly was not. Whether the name, *Sangar*, imports special significance the writer cannot determine.

Fog, in the writer's opinion, remains Reed's masterpiece. And he does not see in Reed's final lines "unfaith," as does Hicks,[62] at least any more than in a similar finale by Thomas Bailey Aldrich—"How will it be when we shall sleep, indeed?" There is said to be extant an incomplete *Poem About Riverside*, written by Reed on Bookhouse stationery.[63]

Bursch also printed Reed's best-known and best-loved poem, the sparkling *The Day in Bohemia . . .*,[55] mostly tossed off in Portland, Oregon, in 1912 (out of nostalgia for "Bohemia," *i.e.*, 42 Washington Square, New York City) while Reed was out on the Coast because of his father's death.[64]

[60] Hicks, *John Reed*, p. 85. Steffens indicated that *The Least of These* had helped John Reed in the latter's verbal defense of the Muckraker's attitude and endeavors at the McNamara dynamiting trial. *Letters*, I: 285.

[61] *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 3rd ed.* (Springfield, Massachusetts, G. & C. Merriam Company, 1921), p. 808.

[62] Hicks, *John Reed*, pp. 212-213.

[63] Letter, dated April 13, 1949, from Carolyn E. Jakeman, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The poem is in the John Reed Collection. It is said not to concern Bursch or his imprints.

[64] Hicks, *John Reed*, p. 77; confirmed by letter, dated April 11, 1949, from a friend (name withheld).

Hillacre Imprints—"Radicals" and Their Works

As stated, Hillacre is properly to be classed as one of America's "radical" presses. But "radical" must be understood to mean what it meant at the time, 1908-1918—spanning, roughly, the years from the beginning of the Taft Administration to the end of World War I. For what glówed ruddy and red, then, has faded out, now, to mere pale pink. Communism, then, was a mere intellectual theory, for even the Bolshevik revolution in Russia did not occur until the very year when the Bookhouse folded up. The current bugaboo was socialism. Towards the end of the period, as war hysteria mounted, "pro-Germans" also became national bogeymen. But since this happened too late to affect Hillacre, the "radicals" of that Press must be sought among the ranks of those called "socialistic" at the time. Many of them would seem mere mild liberals now.

By and large, what type of person was the "socialist" of the period other than the out-and-out party member? Generally speaking he (or she) was somebody feeling a need for sociologic or economic change, and willing to work for it, write for it, speak for it, fight for it.

The most controversial field was labor relations. Contrasted with its present location on Easier Street, labor's situation was not a happy one. Working hours were kept as long as possible and wages as short. Collective bargaining was in its infancy, the "labor injunction" was just undergoing expansion, police clubbing of strikers (and even of the merely unemployed) was too often an accepted technique of control. Even so necessary a reform as Workmen's Compensation, in the field of industrial accidents, was facing stiff and unintelligent opposition. At the time, labor had to play the game against dice loaded too heavily against it. Naturally resentment grew, and, at times, especially when the syndicalist "Wobblies" (Industrial Workers of the World) were concerned, this flared into violence that probably did labor more

overall harm than good. The equivalent of the current obstreperous John L. Lewis was the relatively mild and intellectual Eugene V. Debs. *The Masses* and *The New York Call* were beyond the pale, and even readers of *The Nation* and *The New Republic* were suspect.

Hence Hillacre's "radicals" include persons then currently interested in bettering labor relations. And there were others, interested in other reform movements. At the time, none could have been called "popular," save possibly Steffens. Rather were they generally the opposite. Accordingly Dr. Frank Petrone could, with correctness, describe the Bookhouse as "A Paradise for the unpopular writer,"[10] and as a place "where many tired progressive writers got rest and inspiration."[11] Bursch printed plenty of items by labor protagonists and other social reformers, probably too many at his own personal expense.

Starting to "count noses," we find works that can be considered "radical," as of the period, by such standard writers as Emerson, Galsworthy (writing of female suffrage), and William Morris. Unradical items by authors personally regarded then by many as red included the imprints of John Reed, already discussed, and the provocative essay by Clarence Darrow, *The Skeleton in the Closet.*[65] Among the newcomers producing literature itself "radical" we find Steffens, Jethro Brown, Max Endicoff, Edmond McKenna, and Arturo Giovannitti.

The latter's *Arrows in the Gale,*[66] and the single poem therefrom, *The Cage,* printed separately by Bursch,[67] are perhaps the best-known "radical" items. The Italian-born Giovannitti, at the time apparently both an out-and-out Socialist and Syndicalist, had spent "weary months in Salem jail," "for his activities during the Lawrence strike" (which he apparently helped to or-

[65] (Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed and Published by Frederick C. Bursch, MCMXIV") in two variants.

[66] (Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXIV.)

[67] (Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre, MCMXIV.) See comment on this poem in Steffens, *Letters,* I: 313.

ganize) and hence the burning vehemence of his poems is quite comprehensible. But the introduction by Helen Keller, despite Bursch's unconvincing blurb about it on page 21 of *Hillacre Books*,[8] is disappointing, for the introduction strikes the writer as a mere adolescent eruption of emotion, undefiled by reasoning. In his opinion it is by far the most "radical" item ever printed by Bursch, much more so than Giovannitti's poems. Incidentally, Frank A. Nankivell did a striking poster for *Arrows in the Gale*.

There were two interesting publications of protest along other lines: David S. Greenberg's *A Bunch of Little Thieves*,[68] and Grace Potter's *What We Did to Bernard Carlin*.[26] The former is a lambasting attack on institutions then available for juvenile delinquents. According to pages 26-27 of *Hillacre Books*,[8] favorable comment came from sources as far apart as George W. Kirchwey (then one of the writer's instructors at Columbia Law School) and "Jack Mulraney, reform school graduate, electrocuted on May 18, 1913." The other publication, according to pages 14-15 of the same source,[8] advances the thesis later widely publicized by Clarence Darrow that the real party responsible for many a murder is Society. *Bernard Carlin* was one of Bursch's most beautiful works, but its pastel delicacies (like those of the contemplated *The Cenci*) seem hardly appropriate to the grim subject matter.

One group of "radical" imprints comprises the books and pamphlets turned out by, about, or for Theodore Schroeder and The Free Speech League. Schroeder, exposed early to Robert G. Ingersoll, went when a young man to Salt Lake City to fight for "an oppressed people," apparently the Mormons! After living there, and practicing law, he grew disgusted with both his profession and The Latter-Day Saints and returned east, abandoning a lucrative practice to devote himself to a financially precarious career, philosophizing, writing, and crusading.[69] Invet-

[68] (Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, 1915.)

[69] See Hutchins Hapgood, *A Cold Enthusiast* (Riverside, Connecticut, "Privately Printed, Hillacre," 1913), pp. [3-6].

erately active, Schroeder could (and often did) swing a valiant quarter-staff when evil pates popped up to be cracked.[70] In 1911 with Steffens, Leonard D. Abbott, and others, he founded The Free Speech League, an organization formed to champion that cause when very much needed.[71] Steffens tells in his *Letters* how the League would put Abbott or himself "on the job" when the New York Police resumed, periodically, their then-current practice of clubbing the unemployed for soapbox speaking.[72]

Bursch turned out for Schroeder three books,[73] several pamphlets written by Schroeder himself,[74] and some brochures for the League.[75] The last-named are Hillacre's least interesting items typographically. Schroeder's personal pamphlets are done tastefully and Hutchins Hapgood's personal sketch of Schroeder, *A Cold Enthusiast*, is best of all, even though set by machine. One of the reformed lawyer's most interesting pamphlets, published under a pseudonym, is *A Philosopher's Wail of Slackery*, a philosophical attack on hysterical attackers of "slackers" during World War I.[76] This does not look like Bursch's typography, but the writer understands from Mr. Schroeder that Bursch did it. Once Bursch (the refined!) went too far in reprinting, from *The Masses*, one "Williams'" *Ballad of Joseph the Nazarene* with Max

[70] Steffens, *Autobiography*, p. 327, thus described Schroeder, "Theodore Schroeder, a well-known New Yorker, who was spending his life and his livelihood fighting for liberty, halted me on the street one day to tell me with the glee of a collector that he had 'come upon the most beautiful tyranny you ever heard of.' He related the story but I hardly listened. I was enjoying his esthetic joy in his discovery of a wrong to set right. We of the *Commercial* were like Schroeder."

[71] See the brief history of the League set forth in the pamphlets printed by Bursch and listed in the Check List.

[72] Steffens, *Letters*, I: 336, 338.

[73] *Methods of Constitutional Construction* . . . [after 1911] (machine set); *Free Speech For Radicals, Enlarged Edition*, 1916 (machine set); *A Psychologic Study of Judicial Opinion*, 1917 (handset).

[74] *Liberty Through Personal Service*, MCMXV; *Martyrs Or Criminals? An unmoral analysis of a celebrated case*, MCMXV; see also Note 69.

[75] See pamphlets listed in Check List.

[76] Philo Psycho Slack, *A Philosopher's Wail of Slackery*, "Never-Mind-Who Nor Where 1918."

Eastman's hyperemotional defense of the poem.[77] To the writer, the *Ballad* is merely a cheap *tour-de-force*, bumblingly reminiscent of Ezra Pound's *Ballad of the Goodly Fere*, but, unlike the latter, merely adolescent and coarse. Incidentally, this is the only item found printed by Bursch (who will be recalled as toning down A. J. Bowden's "verbal vitriol" in *The Literary Collector* Magazine)[78] which can justly be described as being in questionable taste. Even George Bernard Shaw balked at this ballad!

Hillacre Imprints—New Works by Nonradicals

Hillacre printed a fair number of "new publications" which were not in the least "radical." The most interesting, typographically, are the anonymous *The De-e-e-lights of Tim;*[25] Dr. L. Pierce Clark's book of verse, *Warp and Woof;*[79] Randolph Hartley's *The Quest of Heart's Desire;*[24] and Frank R. Stockton's *The Lost Dryad*,[80] a posthumous first edition of this author, printed and "published to raise money for a play ground and club house for the children of the Eastern Branch of the United Workers of Greenwich."

La Débâcle

While Hillacre lasted longer than Bursch's first shoestring venture, it ended the same way. The proprietor was simply not enough of a business man. One thinks, by contrast, of Updike of Merrymount. And compared to Bursch, even the relatively impractical Frank Hopkins looms up like a Wizard of Wall Street, for, after all, The Marion Press did yield a comfortable living.[12]

We have already seen straws blowing in the wind: installment payments, over seven months, for a used press costing seventy dollars; cessation of productive activity for indefinite periods

[77] "Williams," *The Ballad of Joseph The Nazarene* and Max Eastman, *A Sermon on Reverence* (New York, "Reprinted From The Masses," 1916).

[78] Papers, XLIII: 11. For Shaw, see Genevieve Taggard's *May Days* (1925).

[79] (Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXV.)

[80] (Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed at Hillacre . . . ," 1912.)

while Bursch the artist fussed and fumed to get the right shade of color or combination of types; heavy waste of stock; assumption of all the financial risk of Steffens' *The Least of These*, while promising to split profits fifty-fifty, for the quixotic reasons described by Mr. Dennis.[7] Perhaps this was done with other items, also.

Dr. Petrone has described the situation this way,

> He [Bursch] never seemed to worry about money (but we did) and only when certain shipments of paper or ink, or labor, were held up by lack of funds, he would get fidgety and try to get out a job that brought in money.[4] . . . Mr. Sniffen could not live without his pay.[10]

Mr. Sniffen has confirmed this, personally telling the writer that finally he had to leave Mr. Bursch for a job that brought in regular returns, and that thereafter he could help the artist-printer only intermittently—as on Sundays or holidays. John Reed unconsciously added further confirmation, when he wrote Bursch, parenthetically, in a letter dealing with other matters,[81]

> By the way. Boni's say they ordered some books from you and cannot get them. And they also want a bill for the 4 copies of "Day in Bohemia" you sent them. There wasn't any bill.

The prices charged by Bursch for his publications make the picture even clearer. The "Hillacre Reprints," in black and orange, and sometimes with gray added, and each in an individual, labeled slip-case, brought thirty-five cents each, new; the "Wallet Books," twenty-five (with mailing envelope) or five for a dollar (boxed). Gems like *What We Did to Bernard Carlin*[26] and *The Quest of Heart's Desire*[24] sold, respectively, for fifty and eighty cents. Reed's *Sangar*,[55] *The Day in Bohemia*,[55] and Stockton's *The Lost Dryad*[80] fetched one dollar each. *The Least of These*[86] retailed for only fifty cents, so one wonders how much profit there was to split with Steffens. Making all due allowance for the lower costs prevailing then, when Dr. Petrone started working at three dollars a week, it does not seem that Hillacre's

[81] Letter, dated "March 23" [1916 or 1917], Reed to Bursch.

gross intake could ever have been high, or even sufficient. Nor does Bursch appear to have made much effort to get his products peddled by big book stores in New York and elsewhere, as does today that very genuine artist and competent business man, Peter Beilenson. Finally, Mr. Dennis has stated that the rent charged the Bookhouse roomers did not pay for the heat and light used.

Moreover, it looks as if Bursch allowed too many visitors to bedevil him, and to waste his time, when he should have been hard at work. Mrs. Bursch, writing John Reed, November 26, 1916,[82] brings this out, thus,

> Fred has been trying to work at the bookhouse today, but people who want to read their poetry to him or tell their troubles have learned not to come to the front door and accept my statement that he is not at home. They pass by the window hastily and catch him in his lair, and at 10:30 P.M. after—let's see . . . *8* men today, of whom only 2 had business to attend to—he comes up and says he must have a corner to go & hide in, and goes to bed with his work half done. . . . Fred's only resource is silence, and that is just what a man wants when he is reading his poetry.

The final collapse has been chronicled by Mr. Dennis,[7] who observed it at first hand. He began by stating that a relative (not Bursch's father), who had "bailed him out of several financial crises" by loans (unsecured and unevidenced even by notes),

> finally tired, . . . and refused to continue supporting the printing establishment, which never paid for itself, let alone show anything more.

And he added,

> I think this, coupled with the slow settlement of Bursch's father's estate [plus the refusal of the executor] to advance any money was the cause of the final crack-up. [This relative] realized that Fred Bursch had a great deal of talent but . . . no business ability [and] was greatly in favor of his taking a position offered to him, at well over $5000. per year, by Condé Nast, as head of their lay-out department. He would have been able to write his own ticket, but for him the work was too confining.

[82] Copy of this passage, from a letter in the John Reed Collection, is due to the courtesy of Carolyn E. Jakeman. See her letter, mentioned in Note 56.

The additional suggestion has been made by another friend that perhaps the local authorities cut off the electric current used by the press, on the grounds that the latter was a luxury, and hence should not be operated in the period of rationing forced by World War I. At any rate, so ended Hillacre Bookhouse. As stated already, destruction of records, journals, correspondence, and even of many imprints followed shortly.

A paradoxical posthumous prediction appeared, a few years later, in a letter, dated "Good Friday, 1921" and reading,

> I just came in contact with your little pamphlet published in the spring of 1915.[8] It is most interesting to read and you are to be congratulated upon its contents and get-up.
>
> I somehow think that the enterprise at Hillacre is too good and basically too sound [the writer construes this to mean "artistically sound"] to withstand the pressure brought on by a modern existence.
>
> If, as I hope, I am mistaken, I will be glad to again hear from Hillacre, and the progress made since 1915. signed B—— D——.

A pungent, graphic epilogue survives in another remarkable letter from Mrs. Bursch to Reed, fortunately preserved, thanks to Harvard University,[83] in the John Reed Collection. It is important enough to be reproduced here in full.

Sonnenuntergang

Bursch bounced back, mentally, a second time. Under the will of his father, who had died in April, 1920,[84] Fred was to receive, for life, income from a trust fund consisting of one-fifth of the residuary estate, less cash advances already made. These advances were finally calculated to amount to $15,354.14, and deducted, as per instructions. Probably they included the "deficit financing"

[83] This remarkable letter, dated March 6, 1919, from Ann Dennis Bursch to "Dear Jack" [John Reed], is preserved in the John Reed Collection at Harvard University, and is reproduced here with the consent of that University and of Mr. Robert W. Dennis, adopted son of Mr. and Mrs. Bursch, and her sole heir.

[84] The will is recorded in Liber 506 of Wills, at page 50, Kings County [Brooklyn], New York. All the other information regarding the estate and the litigation is derived from study of the voluminous file of papers in File 9185-1930 in the Surrogate's Office, Kings County [Brooklyn], New York.

New York Office: 10 East Forty-Third Street
Phone 1566 Murray Hill

Telegraph Address: Greenwich, Connecticut
Phone 92 Sound Beach

FREDERICK C. BURSCH
THE HILLACRE BOOKHOUSE
RIVERSIDE, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

March 6, 1919

Dear Jack,

Stop bolsheviking for a minute and listen. I hear that your publisher is rowing you for your premature publicity when your book is not ready to sell! While all the time there is a perfectly good book of truly poetry of yours occupying good shelf-room here at Hillacre, which ought to be featured all over redicaldom.

You know of course that Fred is down in Florida, utterly unable to carry on. I have been closing up his business and am preparing to sell the machinery, etc., in order to have money to go on until his father's estate is settled, after which he will (bolsheviki volentibus) have a more or less sizeable life income, and can waste it if he chooses in immortalizing the versified vaporings of the riff-raff.

What to do with those volumes of v.v. already on hand, and doing no good or harm in the world so long as they are stacked up in our back yard, I am at a loss to know. Giovannitti's poems have had enough publicity to sell themselves, and an occasional order floats in for some of the others. However, your "Tamburlaine" was done after the little catalogue was printed, and has had no publicity at all that I can find out. I do not know what the arrangement between you and Fred, but there have not been more than three copies sold since I took over the business correspondence, and Fred kept no accounts, so there is no way of telling how many have ever been sold.

I can not find even the job record that should tell me how many were printed. Perhaps you know that, and whether you were to have a royalty and how much? I should like to know all about it the you know.

It occurs to me that if Liveright is publishing for you, he might serve also as distributing agent for the "Tamburlaine" and perhaps the remainder of "The Day in Bohemia". You ought to be getting from them now any benefits possible from your intensive campaign of publicity -- not to say notoriety.

I am equally at a loss how to get the most out of some of the other things Fred published or reprinted. Have you any one to suggest, who in connection perhaps with a book shop might undertake the whole list of Hillacre books? Whatever I can get out of the reprints is clear gain. The volumes Fred printed for McKenna and Endikoff, I know nothing about -- whether they were to get royalties. None have been sold that I know about. Ought I ask the Liberator to handle them?

It is not easy for me to tear things up here, but beside needing the money it seems to me that it is a healthier thing for Fred not to come home to find the same old graveyard in the back yard to hang crepe on. He gets horribly depressed. It is impossible for him to go on with any business for himself, even after he has his own income, for he merely goes on till he is in so deep and down so far that he has to be saved all over again. He has gone down twice now, and we don't mean to let him go down for the third and last time! There is a good field for him, designing books and advertising to be done at other shops.

Don't worry your precious head if you can't see any thing to do about this. I merely want you to save your own stuff from undeserved oblivion, and to give me any advice you happen to have handy. And when hell gets too hot for you, do come out to see me and cool off. Louise, too.

Yours always affectionately, Amb Bursch

of both The Literary Collector Press and Hillacre Bookhouse. The will shows clearly that the father well understood Fred's financial incompetence. Even after deducting the advances, however, the principal of the fund was large enough to insure the ex-printer a comfortable financial independence for life. A brother was made trustee. Apparently some payments due Fred were ultimately withheld, not dishonestly but under a misinterpretation, or misapplication, of a technical doctrine of law. Bitter family litigation ensued, resulting finally in recovery by Fred of a substantial sum thus withheld.

Despite his new financial independence, which came too late to save Hillacre, Bursch never got into the "good field" his wife was sure awaited him "designing books and advertising to be done at other shops." Nor did he attempt further printing, although his finances would now have permitted him to do a moderate amount. Instead, he let his talents go to waste just when years of experience had brought him to the peak of maturity. Herein, perhaps, lies the greatest tragedy of all, not only to Bursch himself, but to American typography as well.

Until the third and final mental crack-up, which sent poor Bursch to a sanatarium for life, he seems to have led an aimless existence after the end of Hillacre. He took an apartment in New York and for years made his headquarters there. For diversion he took sea trips, or went up and down to Florida. Mrs. Bursch died some years ago.

One of the printer's intimates, the well-known bookseller Mr. M. M. Breslow, for whose daughter's birth Bursch had printed a remarkable announcement folder at Hillacre, has described his friend with tender appreciation, and told a story shedding pathetic light on his later days.[85]

Just as Wegelin is a prince among bibliophiles, Bursch can be counted as a master among printers. To me he was much more than that. I knew him well.

[85] Letter, dated October 15, 1946, from Mr. Breslow. As to the birth-announcement folder, see Check List.

He was kind, understanding, genteel in the truly fine sense and above all unobtrusive. He had a wonderful disregard for money as a motive factor. One day he walked into the store rather dejected. Without waiting for preliminaries he said to me, "I am in trouble. My father left me some money. He should have left it all to my brother, who likes money and knows all about it." I know he meant it. Bursch was the nearest counterpart to Thoreau I ever met. I dined often with him. It was always in the nature of a spiritual experience. Neither the food nor the place mattered. It was an enrichment to be with him.

To all of which the writer, fortunate enough to know both Mr. Breslow and Mr. Wegelin, and who, while unfortunate enough not to know Mr. Bursch, has, nevertheless, been compelled to learn about him, subscribes a fervent "Amen." And adds, alas, "What a too-perfect typographical Jugurtha."

HILLACRE BOOKHOUSE IMPRINTS CHECK LIST

Foreword

Because of the relatively large number of Hillacre imprints, condensation is desirable. Hence instead of being arranged chronologically only, the items are first classified, then distributed chronologically within each classification. The classifications are arbitrary and have been adopted chiefly because they seem to fit Bursch's books rather than because they conform to current standards of orthodox bibliography.

Owing to widespread scatteration of examples, it has not been possible to check some items against type, or linotype, specimen books. Identification of the types of such has been based on the writer's best recollection of the various faces known to have been used by Bursch.

"Broadside," as used herein, means an item printed wholly on one side (page) of a two-side (two-page) sheet. "Book" is anything bound in any way, and "booklet" a diminutive form thereof. "Pamphlet" is confined to an unbound folder embracing more than four pages, whether all printed or not. "Folder" signifies an unbound imprint, folded once, of four pages, not all of which need be printed. The unique "Facsimile" (not printed from types) speaks for itself.

There is reason to believe that this check list is incomplete. Corrections thereof and additions thereto will be welcomed and should be addressed to the compiler at The Grolier Club, 47 East 60th Street, New York 22,

New York. Similar information regarding Bursch's Literary Collector imprints will be welcomed also.

HILLACRE FACSIMILE

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS. [*A letter beginning "I think, now, this 5th or 6th of April, 1873"*]. N.p., N.pub., N.d. 2 pp. 10¾" x 8½".

Facsimile reproduction of longhand letter by Stevenson on obverse of the sheet, with portrait of the author, 5½" x 8½", on reverse.

HILLACRE BROADSIDES

DENNIS, O. M. *Absalom.* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, N.d. 1 p. 10" x 12¾".

50 copies on Nordeling handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initial. Orange and black inks.

MORRIS, WILLIAM. *The Idle Singer From "The Earthly Paradise."* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, N.d. 1 p. 10" x 13".

100 copies on Tuscany handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Orange and black inks.

REED, JOHN. *To Max Eastman.* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, N.d. 1 p. 9½" x 12½".

100 copies on Nordeling handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, Roman and Italic, with Missal initial. Orange and black inks.

WHITMAN, WALT. *O Captain! My Captain!* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, N.d. 1 p. 10" x 13".

100 copies on Tuscany handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Orange and black inks.

OTHER BROADSIDES

BULL, NINA. *Credo.* Riverside, Ct., Hillacre Bookhouse, N.d. 1 p. 8" x 13".

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified handmade white paper. Cloister Old Style types, with Cloister initial. Orange and black inks. Device in orange.

HOWE, JULIA WARD. *"An International Hymn Of Liberty" The Battle Hymn Of The Republic.* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, N.d. 1 p. 10½" x 14".

100 copies on Nordeling handmade paper. Cloister Old Style types, Roman and Italic. Orange and black inks.

JONES, ROBERT EDMOND, and FREDERICK CONRAD BURSCH. *Dramatic.* "Bobby Jones and Fred Bursch made this at Hillacre in May MDCDXV." 1 p. 26″ x 18″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified handmade paper. Caslon Old Style Roman capital letters. Black ink, with illustrations in black, yellow, and orange. This may have been planned as a folder, in which event it would occupy 4 pp.

REED, JOHN. *Fog.* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, N.d. 1 p. 9⅝″ x 12½″.

(a) 100 copies on Nordeling handmade paper.

(b) unknown number of copies on paper watermarked "Enfield S. Co.+1887."

(c) unknown number of copies on another unidentified machine-made paper.

Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initial. Orange and black inks. All bear device in orange. Runs (b) and (c) done at "Riverside, Ct., Hillacre Bookhouse" (in the device). *Fog* was published in *Scribner's Magazine*, August, 1919. According to Granville Hicks, *John Reed, The Making of a Revolutionary* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1937), p. 427, the poem was reprinted in *The Liberator*, December, 1920, and in Genevieve Taggard's *May Days, an Anthology* (New York, Boni & Liveright, 1925), p. 17.

STREET, JULIAN. *Julian Street's Price.* Riverside, Ct., Hillacre Bookhouse. 1 p. 8¼″ x 13″.

Number of copies unknown, on unidentified handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, Roman and Italic. Orange and black inks. Device in orange.

BOOKS

(Undated)

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO. *On Wealth.* Riverside, Connecticut, The Hillacre Bookhouse, N.d. [but prior to 1915]. 72 pp. 3¼″ x 4⅞″.

Number of copies believed over 500. Paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO." Self Spacing Old Style types. Brown paper wrappers, with paper label in orange and black on front cover. Device in dark red on title page. See "The Hillacre Books," 1915. Believed one of the earliest Hillacre books.

1908

ANONYMOUS [perhaps by Mary Churchill Ripley]. *The Tiffany Studios Collection of Antique Chinese Rugs.* New York [The Tiffany Studios], [1908]. 96 pp. 6″ x 9″.

1000 numbered copies on Strathmore Japan paper. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Title page printed in Cloister Black, with Missal initials

and device of the studios in blue. Blue cloth, with white lettering and border on front cover, and gilt lettering stamped on spine. End papers decorated in blue. Black and blue inks. One of Bursch's most successful adoptions of color (blue) for its own sake. Numerous illustrations.

ANONYMOUS [Attributions]. *Club House of The Brook.* New York, The Brook, MCMVIII. [36] pp. 5″ x 7″.

Number of copies unknown. Van Gelder handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types with some blackletter on title page, etc. Leather binding, dark blue with yellow spine. Device and name of club, and year, stamped on front cover, in gilt. Title page in blue and yellow. Text in blue.

The yearbook of The Brook, a club in New York City. Attributed to Bursch because: (1) set in types he used; (2) copies of issues for 1908, 1912, and 1916 were found at the Bookhouse among imprints unquestionably his; and, (3) because of general appearance and style. Existing club records do not help. The club colors are yellow and blue.

By courtesy of The Brook, and of The New York Public Library, copies of this yearbook, 1906-1920, inclusive, were examined. All but those for 1907 and 1920 (the years following the closing, respectively, of Bursch's two Presses) look like Bursch's work, especially those for 1915-1919, inclusive, in which the lists of deceased members are printed in Self Spacing Old Style. Any Bursch imprints preceding 1908 belong to the Literary Collector Press.

1909

WILDE, OSCAR. *Shakespeare and Stage Costume.* New York, N.pub., 1909. 92 pp. 4¼″ x 5¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified coated or semi-coated paper. Caslon Old Style types. Gray boards, with paper labels on front cover and spine, printed in red and black, in Jenson and Caslon types. Title page in black and red inks. Obviously an imprint of Mr. Bursch and so described categorically by Mr. Robert W. Dennis, although neither Bursch nor either of his Presses is mentioned. The volume so resembles *The* [*Literary*] *Collector Reprints* as to be easily mistaken for one of those.

1910

ANONYMOUS. *The Hoggson Building Method, Described and Illustrated for the Benefit of Those Who Contemplate Building, Remodeling, Decorating or Furnishing.* New York City, Hoggson Brothers [1910]. 38 pp. 6″ x 9⅜″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "◇D◇ Queen Laid." Types unidentified. Gray boards with white paper spine. Gravure illustrations tipped in. Mr.

Bursch is known to have printed more works for Hoggson Brothers but no others have been found, and the present firm has none at all on hand, according to a letter dated May 27, 1948.

LACKAYE, WILTON. *Laconigrams, Projected or Purloined by Wilton Lackaye With a Fragmentary Collection of Anecdotes On and About the Author Appended.* New York, Liebler & Co., 1910. 71 pp. 3″ x 5″.

750 copies. Paper unidentified. Self Spacing Old Style, with "Hillacre" in Gothic and one line in Plymouth, in colophon. Light brown paper wrappers. "Printed for the Traffic Club of Denver—to be used in connection with a series of performances to be given by Mr. Lackaye and his company at The Auditorium in that city during the week beginning Oct. 24, 1910." The play was Cleveland Moffett's *The Battle.*

STEFFENS, LINCOLN. *The Least of These A Fact Story.* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre Bookhouse, 1910. 57 pp. 4″ x 6¼″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Suede <D> Finish." Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initial. Figured brown paper wrappers, with paper label in black and red on front cover only. Title page in black and red. Reprinted from *Everybody's Magazine,* January, 1909. Some copies have brown-ink labels.

1911

BROWNING, ROBERT. *Rabbi Ben Ezra.* Riverside, Connecticut, "for the friends of Frederick C. and Ann D. Bursch," 1911. 11 pp. 5¾″ x 8⅞″.

Number of copies unknown. Handmade paper with "Hammer and Anvil" watermark. Caslon Old Style types. Paper label, front cover only, in black, with brown border and using Missal initials and unidentified blackletter resembling Priory Text faces. Mottled gray-and-pink boards. Title page in black, with device in red. Believed to be a Bursch Christmas book.

SCHROEDER, THEODORE. *Methods of Constitutional Construction The Synthetic Method Illustrated on the Free Speech Clause of the Federal Constitution.* New York City, Free Speech League, N.d. [not earlier than 1911]. 106 pp. 6½″ x 9½″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Machine-set Linotype Scotch Roman, with title page handset in Self Spacing Old Style and Ronaldson types. Gray-blue paper wrappers. Black ink only. Hillacre Bookhouse not mentioned but, according to Mr. Schroeder, this is a Hillacre imprint. Evidently "farmed out" for machine composition. Device of the League

on title page. According to its own advertisements the Free Speech League was not incorporated before 1911.

1912

BROWN, JETHRO. *The Message of Anarchy.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. 42 pp. 4″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified. Self Spacing Old Style types, with outside cover and title page in Caslon Old Style Roman and Italic. Paper wrappers, some copies in dark gray, some in cream, some in pink. Title page in black and orange inks. Orange lettering on front cover. "Reprinted from *The Hibbert Journal,* July, 1910."

STOCKTON, FRANK R. *The Lost Dryad.* Riverside, Conn., "Printed at Hillacre for the Eastern Branch of the United Workers of Greenwich," 1912. 28 pp. 4¾″ x 8″.

1000 copies on unidentified handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, with Acorn initials (see *Desk Book of Type Specimens . . .* , N.p., American Type Founders Co., 1900, p. 792). Gray boards, with paper label in black and red on front cover only. Figured end papers. Title page in red and black, with device in red. Frontispiece, with facsimile autograph in red on guard sheet. A posthumous first edition of this author. Sold at $1 per copy, the proceeds dedicated to construction of a children's clubhouse and playground. A single-page prospectus sheet, with order blank, was also printed at Hillacre.

1913

ANONYMOUS [An Attribution]. *Character and Individuality in Decorations and Furnishings.* New York [with Chicago and Boston offices also mentioned], Tiffany Studios [1913]. [38] pp. 5¾″ x 8 5/16″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style types. Original binding unknown, the copy in the New York Public Library being rebound in blue library buckram. Title page in black and red. Many gravure illustrations. This book attributed to Hillacre Bookhouse because of: (1) set in the Caslon Old Style 14-point #71 face used by Bursch; (2) "Utopian" paper, used frequently by Bursch at Hillacre; (3) design of title page.

REED, JOHN. *The Day in Bohemia or Life Among the Artists Being a* JEU D'ESPRIT *containing Much that is Original and Diverting. . . .* New York, Printed for the Author, MDCCCCXIII. 48 pp. 6¼″ x 9½″.

500 copies on paper watermarked "Utopian." Self Spacing Old Style types. Title page in Self Spacing and Ronaldson, and title printed directly on outside front cover in Della Robbia. Brown paper wrappers, with brown end papers, and

brown slip-case. Title page in black and orange, with device in gray. Colophon in orange.

—— *Sangar To Lincoln Steffens* [title on cover reads, *Sangar: The Mad Recreant Knight of The West*]. Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre, 1913. [4] pp. 6½″ x 9½″.

Number of copies unknown, but Leon Kramer wrote compiler, November 25, 1946, "Few copies printed." Tuscany handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, with gilt lettering on front cover and spine in Della Robbia. Dark gray boards, with dark gray end papers. Title page in black and orange, with device in orange. Colophon in orange. Reprinted from *Poetry* magazine by permission, "for the delight of a few friends."

[Various Authors]. *Edward Bond Foote Biographical Notes and Appreciatives*. New York City, Free Speech League, 1913. 85 pp. 6¼″ x 9¼″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Believed machine-set Linotype Old Style #1 (see *Specimen Book Linotype Faces*, Brooklyn, New York, Mergenthaler Linotype Company, N.d., pp. 699-708). Title page and label on front cover only, chiefly in Self Spacing Old Style types. Title page and label in black and red.

1914

Baudelaire, Charles, *Translated By* Arthur Symons. *Twelve Poems in Prose*. Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed & Published by Frederick C. Bursch at Hillacre," MCMXIV. [68] pp. 4″ x 5¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style types, Roman, with foreword and part of title page in Italic. Brown paper wrappers, with labels in black and orange on front cover of book, and spine of slip-case, in Caslon small capitals and Gothic "sans-serif" respectively. Title page in black and orange, with device and rules in gray.

Darrow, Clarence S. *The Skeleton in the Closet*. Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed & Published by Frederick C. Bursch, at Hillacre," MCMXIV. 53 pp., two variants varying in size: (a) 4″ x 5¾″; (b) 3⅝″ x 5⅜″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style types, with unidentified leaf-and-tendril initial "T" in orange and gray. Variant (a): brown paper wrappers, with label in black and orange on front cover only, in Caslon. Variant (b): light blue paper wrappers, with title and presentation inscription from Theodore Schroeder printed directly on front cover, in

Cloister Old Style Roman and Italic and Caslon Old Style Italic. Title page black and orange, with device and rules in gray. Variant (b) is obviously the regular edition trimmed and made into special presentation run for Theodore Schroeder.

FORBES, ALEXANDER. *Essays—read before the* FORTNIGHTLY *of Mount Holly, New Jersey.* Riverside, Connecticut, Privately Printed, MCMXIV. 109 pp. 4½″ x 7¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Types resembling Caslon Old Style yet not identical, with unidentified leaf-and-tendril initial "J." Brown paper wrappers, with paper label on front cover only. Title page in black and orange, with device in gray; label in black and orange; initial in orange and gray. With folded brown paper outer wrapper.

GALSWORTHY, JOHN. *"Gentles, Let Us Rest!" A Paper on the Position of Women.* Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed and Published by Frederick C. Bursch, at Hillacre," MCMXIV. 56 pp. 4″ x 5⅝″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style Roman types. Title page in solid Caslon Italic, with unidentified "leaf-and-tendril" initial "I." Brown paper wrappers, with paper label in Caslon on front cover only. Slip-case. Title page in black and orange, with gray device and rules; label in black and orange; initial in orange and gray.

GIOVANNITTI, ARTURO. *Arrows in the Gale.* Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXIV. 108 pp. 5½″ x 8″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Believed machine-set Linotype Old Style #1, 12-point (see *Specimen Book Linotype Faces*, Brooklyn, New York, Mergenthaler Linotype Company, N.d., p. 706). Title page, Caslon Old Style. Two variant bindings as follows: (a) blue wrappers, folded over boards, with paper label in black and orange, in Della Robbia, on outside front cover only, and with blue end papers; (b) brown boards, with gilt Della Robbia lettering stamped on spine and front cover, with brown end papers. Why two variants is unknown. Title page in black and orange, with device in orange. Introduction by Helen Keller. A striking advertising poster was made for this book by Frank A. Nankivell.

—— *The Cage.* Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre, MCMXIV. [8] pp. 6¼″ x 9¾″.

According to colophon, 10 copies on Imperial Japanese vellum (none seen); 25 on Tuscany handmade paper; 165 on Omodaka Japan paper. Believed machine-set Linotype Old Style #1, 12-point, as is same author's *Arrows in the Gale*, which see. Brown boards, with gilt Della Robbia lettering stamped on

spine and outside front cover, and with slip-case. Title page in Caslon Old Style capitals, in black and orange; colophon in orange.

MORRIS, WILLIAM. *How We Live and How We Might Live.* Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed and Published By Frederick C. Bursch At Hillacre," MCMXIV. 63 pp. 3⅞″ x 5⅝″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Believed 11-point Old Style #583 (see *American Specimen Book of Type Styles*, N.p., American Type Founders Co., 1912, p. 133). Brown paper wrappers, with paper label on front cover. Slip-case. Label in black and orange; title page in black and orange, with device and rules in gray.

—— *The Art of the People.* Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed & Published By Frederick C. Bursch At Hillacre," MCMXIV. 71 pp. 4″ x 5¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Believed 11-point Old Style #583 (see *American Specimen Book of Type Styles*, N.p., American Type Founders Co., 1912, p. 133). Brown paper wrappers, with slip-case, and paper labels on front cover of book and spine of slip-case, the former printed in Caslon, the latter in Della Robbia. Title page in black and orange, with device and rules in gray; labels in black and orange; one initial in orange.

—— *The Hopes of Civilization.* Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed & Published By Frederick C. Bursch At Hillacre," MCMXIV. 71 pp. 4″ x 5¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Believed 11-point Old Style #583 (see *American Specimen Book of Type Styles*, N.p., American Type Founders Co., 1912, p. 133). Brown paper wrappers, with paper label on front cover, the latter printed in Caslon. Title page in black and orange, with device and rules in gray; label in black and orange; first word of text in orange. Probably issued with slip-case.

1915

BABBLER STAFF [FRANCES EDNA JOHNSON, *Editor-in-Chief*]. *Babbler* [*Yearbook of the students of Miss Ely's School, Greenwich, Connecticut*]. Greenwich, Connecticut, N.pub., MCMXV. 96, xvi pp. 6¼″ x 9″.

Number of copies unknown, probably under 100, because faculty and students together totalled only 49. Unidentified machine-made paper. Caslon Old Style types with Missal initials. Advertisements in Self Spacing Old Style; dedication in Wedding Text (black letter); colophon in sans-serif Gothic. Brown cloth with Cloister Old Style lettering stamped directly, in darker brown, on front cover and spine. No color. Illustrations. As to *Babbler* for 1917 see Addenda to Check List. Bursch probably printed other Ely School items, also.

CLARK, L. PIERCE. *Warp and Woof*. Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXV. 190 pp. 5⅝″ x 8″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Caslon Old Style types. Dark gray boards and end papers. Gilt lettering in Della Robbia, stamped upon front cover and spine. Title page in black and orange, with device in orange.

GREENBERG, DAVID S. *A Bunch of Little Thieves*. Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, 1915. ix, 321 pp. 5¼″ x 7½″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified. Machine-set Caslon Old Style, Roman and Italic. Brown boards, with paper label on front cover only, printed from a plate. Title page in black and orange; label in red, white, blue, green, brown. Contains an introduction by Professor Frederick G. Bonser. Not the first edition, which appeared in 1913 (see *The Hillacre Books*, 1915, pp. 26-27).

MCKENNA, EDMOND. *The Likes O' Me*. Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXV. 52 pp. 5½″ x 8″.

Number of copies unknown. Machine-made paper watermarked "Olde Style." Self Spacing Old Style types. Dark blue boards, with gilt lettering in Della Robbia, stamped on front cover and spine. Title page in black and orange, in Caslon, with device in orange. Contains a Preface by Max Eastman.

SHAW, G[EORGE] BERNARD. *An Essay on Going to Church*. Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed & Published By Frederick C. Bursch At Hillacre," MCMXV. 69 pp. 4″ x 5¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper, "Utopian" according to 1915 catalogue. Caslon Old Style types, with unidentified "leaf-and-tendril" initial "A." Brown paper wrappers, and slip-case, with paper labels on front cover of book (in Caslon) and on spine of slip-case (in Gothic). Title page in black and orange, with device and rules in gray; labels in black and orange; initial in orange and gray.

SHELLEY, PERCY BYSSHE. *The Cenci, with an Introduction and Eight Drawings by Robert Edmond Jones*. Projected only and started but never finished.

Mr. Bursch prepared a "dummy" for this, bound in sky-blue paper wrappers over boards, 8″ x 11⅛″, with paper label in orange and green, on front cover. Unidentified handmade paper was contemplated. One galley of Caslon Old Style types was set up, as was Mr. Jones' Preface. Mr. Jones prepared eight plates for this work, in black and, sometimes, red. Six, in black only, with Mr. Jones'

version of the proper theory for staging *The Cenci* appeared in *Theatre Arts Monthly*, VIII: No. 6 (June, 1924). Comment on this version appears in Hicks and Clarke, *A Stage Version of Shelley's* CENCI (Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945), pp. 44-45. According to Mr. Jones, the year of this project was 1915.

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS. *Virginibus Puerisque*. Announced in the 1915 catalogue, *The Hillacre Books*, p. 19, as "Now in Press, same format as 'Wealth'" [by Ralph Waldo Emerson]. No copy found.

YEATS, WILLIAM BUTLER. *The Land of Heart's Desire*. Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed and Published by Frederick C. Bursch at Hillacre," MCMXV. 64 pp. 3⅞″ x 5⅝″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style types. Brown paper wrappers, and slip-case, with paper label on front cover of book. Title page in black and orange, with device and rules in gray; label in black and orange.

1916

HARTLEY, RANDOLPH. *The Quest of Heart's Desire, Being the story of a valiant Knight's pilgrimage, set forth in the following Legend songs, The Lady of Seville, The Desert Wraith, and The Sea Mirage*. Riverside, Connecticut, The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1916. [37] pp. 6″ x 8½″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Caslon Old Style, Roman and Italic. Title page of solid Italic. Light greenish-blue boards and end papers, with paper labels, in Caslon, on front cover and spine. Title page and labels in black and orange, with orange used also for initials and section headings.

HUNT, EDWARD EYRE. *Haj, the Law and the Prophets*. Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, 1916. 71 pp. 4″ x 6½″.

750 copies on paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style, Roman and Italic. Title page in solid Italic. Some Missal initials. Brown boards and end papers, with gilt Caslon Italic lettering stamped on front cover and spine. Title page in black and orange, with device in orange. Colophon in orange. A poster, 9½″ x 12½″, in black and orange was done for this, according to Mr. Hunt, by Carton Moorepark.

SCHROEDER, THEODORE. *Free Speech for Radicals, Enlarged Edition*. Riverside, Conn., "*Published for the Free Speech League*, Hillacre Bookhouse," 1916. 206 pp. 6¼″ x 9¼″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Body ma-

chine-set Linotype 12-point Scotch Roman; Foreword and Index in Self Spacing Old Style types; title page in Self Spacing Old Style and Ronaldson types. Gray cloth, with black lettering printed directly on spine only. Title page in black and orange, with the League's device in black.

1917

An American Relief Volunteer in the Hospital Service under the French Red Cross, 1917 [believed Abbott, Edna Christine]. *Out of the War A New Life.* New York, "Published for the Abbott Foundation Fund. Maison Beaufait," [1917]. 21 pp. 5⅛" x 7⅜".

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style types, with unidentified "leaf-and-tendril" initial "W." Blue paper wrappers and end papers, with title and vignette printed directly on front cover in silver. Aside from this silver printing, the entire volume is printed in blue, including blue vignette on title page.

Endicoff, Max. *The Snarling City A Book of Free Verse.* Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXVII. 67 pp. 5½" x 8¼".

35 copies on Nordeling handmade paper, 450 on Utopian laid paper. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Bound in gray paper wrappers, with matching end papers: the Utopian paper copies in dark gray, the Nordeling in light. Paper label on front cover only, and omitted from at least one Nordeling paper copy. Title page and label in black and orange, with device in orange. With an Introduction by Floyd Dell.

Ives, Martin Van Buren, and Colonel William Lamb. *The Last Ditch of the Southern Confederacy, Cape Fear River, North Carolina.* New York, Privately Printed, 1917. ? pp. 5½" x 8¼".

Data incomplete because bound "dummy" copy only, with title page in Della Robbia types, has been found. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Gray cloth, with blue cloth spine, with paper label on front cover. Title page and label in black and orange.

McGurk, Jonce I. *The Story of the Sanders-Dallam-Peter Portrait of Washington Painted by Gilbert Stuart.* N.p., Privately Printed, Hillacre, MCMXVII. [6] pp. 9½" x 12".

6 copies only, on paper watermarked "Strathmore Japan." Caslon Old Style types. Gray paper wrappers and end papers, with paper label on front cover only. Title page and label in black and orange.

Reed, John. *Tamburlaine And Other Verses.* N.p., Hillacre, MCMXVII. 41 pp. 6¼″ x 9½″.

50 copies on Nordeling handmade paper (none seen); 450 on Utopian laid paper. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Utopian paper copies bound in dark blue paper wrappers and end papers, with paper label on front cover only. Title page and label in black and orange, with device in orange.

1918

Anonymous. *The De-e-e-lights of Tim.* N.p., Privately Printed at Hillacre "for the de-e-e-light of Timothy F. Crowley and his friends," 1918. [12] pp. 8″ x 10¼″.

40 copies on unidentified paper. Della Robbia types, with Della Robbia initial. Gray paper boards and end papers, with paper label on front cover only. Text in brown and orange; label in orange and gray. Orange heavily emphasized in this book. Collotype illustrations.

BOOKLETS — NOT WALLET BOOKS

(Undated)

Anonymous. *"Ingleside," New Canaan, Conn.* N.p., N.pub., N.d. [8] pp. 3⅝″ x 6¼″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified. Caslon Old Style types. Brown paper wrappers, stitched, with gilt Gothic lettering printed directly on front cover. A booklet to sell "Ingleside."

Davis, Robert H. *The Must-Be-Finished Work of William George Jordan.* New York, Richardson Wright, N.d. 18 pp. 5″ x 8⅛″.

"A small number . . . privately printed at the Hillacre Bookhouse, for distribution among a few friends." Tuscany handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types. Brown paper wrappers, stitched, with paper label on front cover, in black and red.

Stokes, Hugh C. *Recent Portrait Work of Carton Moorepark Being an Extract from a Review.* N.p., N.pub., N.d. [but after 1909 and 1910 because showing paintings done in those years]. 8 pp. 7″ x 10″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified machine-made. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Brown paper wrappers, stitched, with lettering printed directly on front cover. Separate brown end papers. No separate title page. No color. Interleaved with half-tone or gravure reproductions of Moorepark's paintings, mounted on heavy brown paper. Robert W. Dennis (Mr. Bursch's adopted son) categorically declares this to be a Hillacre item, although the booklet contains no mention of the Bookhouse.

1911

BARRIE, J[AMES] M[ATTHEW]. *Neither Dorking Nor The Abbey.* Riverside, Conn., "Printed At Hillacre," 1911. [12] pp. 4½" x 6⅝".

300 copies. Unidentified machine-made paper. Caslon Old Style Roman and Italic types, with title page in solid Italic. Brown paper wrappers, stitched, with paper label on front cover. Title page and label in black and red, with device in red. A tribute inspired by the death of George Meredith, originally published in the London *Westminster Gazette*, May 26, 1909.

CHESTERTON, G[ILBERT] K[EITH]. *The Ultimate Lie.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse. Privately Printed "at the suggestion of Mr. Lincoln Steffens," 1911. [3] pp. 3⅞" x 6".

"A few copies." Paper unidentified. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initial. Dark brown wrappers, stitched, with paper label on front cover. Title page and label in black and red.

1912

ARNOLD, EDWIN. *Peace On Earth And Good-Will! From The Light Of The World.* "Privately Printed at the Hillacre Bookhouse for the Friends of Bertha Kunz Baker 1912." [5] pp. 5¼" x 7¼".

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "◇D ARAMINGO." Caslon Old Style types No. 71, with Missal initial. Gray paper wrappers, stitched, with title and author's name printed directly on outside front cover in darker gray and in a border. Title page in black and red.

POTTER, GRACE. *What We Did to Bernard Carlin. A True Relation.* Riverside, Conn., Hillacre, "Christmas-Tide, 1912." [12] pp. 4¼" x 6½".

400 copies on Tuscany handmade paper. Caslon Old Style types, with unidentified "leaf-and-tendril" initial "B." Gray paper wrappers, stitched, with title and author's name printed directly on front cover. Printed in black and orange, with above-mentioned initial "B" in blue and gilt.

SANKEY-JONES, NANCY E., *Editress. Toward Self-Reliance and Freedom.* N.p., "Printed for Private Distribution," 1912. [18] pp. 4¼" x 5½".

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Suede ◇D Finish." Caslon Old Style types. Blue paper wrappers, stitched. Title page in black and red; cover, blue paper printed with orange ink.

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS. *An Apology for Idlers.* Riverside, Conn., Privately Printed, The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. [35] pp. 3¾″ x 5⅞″.

"A few copies" on paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMI" [probably the incomplete word "Aramingo"]. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initial, and word "Hillacre" in colophon in black letter. Dark brown paper labels, stitched, with paper label on front cover. Title page and label in black and orange-red; colophon and device in orange-red. This title also found in Hillacre "Wallet Books," First Series.

WILDE, OSCAR. *The Happy Prince.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. 34 pp. 4″ x 6″.

1000 copies (with 75 or 100 run as special Christmas booklet from Robert W. Dennis) on paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO." Caslon Old Style types, with word "Hillacre" in colophon in black letter, and with unidentified "leaf-and-tendril" initial "H." Dark gray wrappers, stitched, with extra end papers of same color, and paper label on front cover. Title page and label in black and red; above-mentioned initial "H" in red. This title also found in Hillacre "Wallet Books," Second Series.

1913

HAPGOOD, HUTCHINS. *A Cold Enthusiast.* Riverside, Connecticut, Privately Printed, Hillacre, 1913. [10] pp. 3⅛″ x 4¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Believed machine-set Linotype Scotch, 10-point (see *Specimen Book Linotype Faces*, Brooklyn, New York, Mergenthaler Linotype Company, N.d., p. 785), with title page and front cover in Self Spacing Old Style and Ronaldson types. Gray wrappers, stitched, with lettering printed directly on front cover. Front cover printed in black and orange, remainder black. A sketch of Theodore Schroeder's career, reprinted from *The Globe* (N.p.), with frontispiece portrait.

1914

STEFFENS, LINCOLN. *Free Speech, With and Without.* Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed for THE FREE SPEECH LEAGUE at Hillacre," MCMXIV. 14 pp. 3½″ x 5½″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Believed machine-set in Linotype Old Style #1, with four lines on page 13 handset in Caslon Old Style. Data unavailable on binding, for only copy found, in the New York Public Library, is stripped of cover and bound in with other booklets. Black ink only inside. "Reprinted by permission from Harper's Weekly" (N.d.).

1915

[Bursch, Frederick C.] *The Hillacre Books* [A list of Hillacre imprints]. Riverside, Connecticut, "*Printed and Published by* Frederick C. Bursch at the Hillacre Bookhouse," "Spring MCMV" [*sic*, although obviously an error for "MCMXV"]. 31 pp. 4″ x 5¾″.

Number of copies unknown, although about 200 were reported found at the Bookhouse. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Caslon Old Style types, with cover in Cloister Old Style. Cream-colored wrappers, stitched, with announcement and four-color drawing by Frank A. Nankivell on front cover. Title page in black and orange, with device in gray; most book titles in orange. Each copy contains an advertising "poster stamp" from designs by Frank A. Nankivell or Robert Edmond Jones. Stamps of "Elycourt," "The White Turkey," and two done for Hoggson Brothers have been found. The only catalogue of Hillacre imprints prior to this Check List.

1916

"Williams" [*sic*] and Max Eastman. *The Ballad Of Joseph The Nazarene and A Sermon on Reverence "Being two Reverent Utterences commonly accounted Blasphemy."* New York, N.pub., 1916. 12 pp. 3⅝″ x 7″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Olde Style." Caslon Old Style types, with Cloister Italic (mostly capitals) on front cover. Brown paper cover, stitched, and printed in darker brown ink. Title page in black and orange. "Reprinted from *The Masses*, New York," January, 1916.

1917

Schroeder, Theodore. *A Psychologic Study of Judicial Opinion.* New York, Privately Reprinted, 1917. 45 pp. 3⅝″ x 6¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified paper. 11-point Old Style #583 types (see *American Specimen Book of Type Styles*, N.p., American Type Founders Company, 1912, p. 133). Brown wrappers, with paper label on front cover. Only color is label in orange and brown.

1918

Slack, Philo Psycho [Theodore Schroeder]. *A Philosopher's Wail of Slackery.* "Never-Mind-Who Nor Where," 1918. 25 pp. 3½″ x 6½″.

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Believed machine-set 11-point Linotype Old Style #1, with title page and front cover in 14-point "Condensed Caslon." Brown paper cover, stapled. No color. Unlike Hillacre typography but included on authority of Mr. Schroeder.

WALLET BOOKS—OUT OF SERIES

Mr. Bursch's title, "Wallet Books," is retained even though they are booklets under the classifications announced for this Check List.

1911

QUINTARD, EDWARD. *From A Window.* Riverside, Conn., Privately Printed, The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1911. 30 pp. 3¾″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO." Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initial. Brown paper wrappers, wallet flap, stitched, with paper label on front. Title page and label in black and red, with device in red.

SCHREINER, OLIVE. *The Hunter—An Allegory.* Riverside, Conn., Privately Printed, The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1911. [28] pp. 3¾″ x 5⅞″.

"A few copies . . . for Frederick C. Bursch and his friends, Christmas, 1911." Paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO." Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initial and word "Hillacre," in colophon, in black letter. Dark brown wrappers, wallet flap, stitched, with paper label on front. Title page and label in black and red. Also issued as "Wallet Book" in First Series.

1912

SULLIVAN, OLIVE GREENE. *Fort Ticonderoga, An Historic Sketch.* N.p., Privately Printed, 1912. [16] pp. 3¾″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified—some clay coated for halftone illustrations. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Dark gray wrappers, wallet flap, with lettering printed directly on front. Title page in black and orange.

1913

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS. *El Dorado.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1913. [10] pp. 3¼″ x 5″.

500 copies on Omodaka Japan paper. Caslon Old Style types. Gray paper wrappers, wallet flap, stitched, with paper label on front. Title page in black, with orange device. Label and colophon in orange.

1915

DARGAN, OLIVE TILFORD. *Beyond War.* Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXV. [12] pp. 4″ x 5¾″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified. Della Robbia types, with Missal initial. Brown paper wrappers, wallet flap, stitched, with paper label on

front. Title page in black and orange, with device and rules in black; label, in black and orange.

WALLET BOOKS—IN SERIES

According to Mr. Bursch's Catalogue of 1915, Hillacre Books, p. 10, the Wallet Books [Booklets under the definitions of this Check List] were "printed from hand-set Caslon type [not all in identical point-size] on good deckle-edge paper, hand-stitched into heavy brown paper wrappers with protective flap . . . a mailing wrapper if sold separately or . . . each series of five . . . in a neat brown box [really a slip-case], with two-color paper label on the back." Arranged by series instead of by years.

First Series

CARPENTER, EDWARD. *The Simplification of Life.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. [30] pp. 4″ x 6″.

1000 copies—some on paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO" and some apparently on "Utopian." Missal initial. Word "Hillacre" in colophon in black letter. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device. Colophon in orange.

SCHREINER, OLIVE. *The Hunter, An Allegory.* Same as same imprint, Wallet Books—Out of Series, 1911 (which see), except that the imprint in First Series lacks the Christmas inscription and that the size of this item is 4″ x 6″.

—— *In A Ruined Chapel, A Dream.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. [16] pp. 4″ x 6″.

1000 copies on paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO." Missal initial. Word "Hillacre" in colophon, in black letter. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device. Colophon in orange.

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS. *An Apology for Idlers.* Same except for Wallet-style wrappers and size (4″ x 6″), as item listed as a Booklet, in 1912, which see. Colophon and device in red.

WILDE, OSCAR. *The Ballad of Reading Gaol.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. [32] pp. 4″ x 6″.

1000 copies on paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO." Missal initials. Word "Hillacre" in colophon, in black letter. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device. Colophon in orange.

Second Series

GODKIN, EDWIN L[AWRENCE]. *A Letter on Lincoln.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1913. [14] pp. 4″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified. Unidentified orange-and-gray "leaf-and-tendril" initial "T." Word "Hillacre" in colophon, in black letter. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device; colophon in orange. Reprint of a letter by Mr. Godkin to the London *Daily News,* March 7, 1865.

MORRIS, WILLIAM. *Paying for Art.* Riverside, Conn., Privately Printed, The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1911. 10 pp. 4″x 6″.

250 copies. Paper unidentified. Missal initial. Title page in black, with orange-red device; label in black and orange-red.

STEFFENS, LINCOLN. *Out of the Muck.* Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, 1913. [29] pp. 4″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper watermarked "Utopian." Title page in black and red, with device in gray; label in black and red; section headings throughout text in red.

WILDE, OSCAR. *The Happy Prince.* Same as item listed as booklet, 1912 (which see), save for wallet flap wrappers, and omission from the Wallet Book of the Christmas announcement of Robert W. Dennis.

QUILLER-COUCH, SIR ARTHUR. *"If Every Face Were Friendly."* Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MCMXIII. [16] pp. 4″ x 6″.

"Reprinted . . . for a few friends" on paper watermarked "Utopian." Unidentified "leaf-and-tendril" initial "I," in blue outline, and word "Hillacre" in colophon in black letter. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device; colophon in orange. Reprint of an essay in the *British Review* (N.d.).

Third Series

CARPENTER, EDWARD. *Custom.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. [24] pp. 4″ x 6″.

1000 copies on paper watermarked "Utopian." Missal initial and word "Hillacre," in colophon, in black letter. Title page and label in black and red, with red device; colophon in red.

MORRIS, WILLIAM. *Not For Leisure Alone.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. [14] pp. 4″ x 6″.

"A few copies" on unidentified paper. Missal initial. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device. Reprinted from Morris' *The Prospects of Architecture in Civilisation.*

QUEIROZ, EÇA DE, and EDGAR PRESTAGE, *translator. The Sweet Miracle.* Riverside, Connecticut, Hillacre Bookhouse, MDCCCCXIII. [27] pp. 4″ x 6″.

"Printed for a few friends" on paper watermarked "Utopian." Unidentified "leaf-and-tendril" initial "I," and word "Hillacre" in colophon, in black letter. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device; colophon in orange; above-mentioned initial in orange and gray.

SCHREINER, OLIVE. *A Dream of Wild Bees.* Riverside, Conn., The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1912. [9] pp. 4″ x 6″.

1000 copies on paper watermarked "◇D◇ ARAMINGO." Missal initial. Word "Hillacre" in colophon, in black letter. Title page and label in black and orange, with orange device; colophon in orange.

WILDE, OSCAR. *The True Personality of Man.* Riverside, Conn., Privately Printed, The Hillacre Bookhouse, 1911. [15] pp. 4″ x 6″.

250 copies on unidentified paper. Missal initial. Title page and label in black and red, with orange device.

PAMPHLETS AND FOLDERS

ANONYMOUS. ["*Let's make plain that the*"] (the first line of this untitled booklet). New York City, Free Speech League, N.d. [16] pp. 3½″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. So many types as to be usable as an informal specimen book. No separate cover. No color.

ANONYMOUS. *Vita Crystal Breslow arrived November 6th, 1914.* N.p., N.pub., [1914]. [4] pp. 3⅞″ x 5¾″.

5 copies on Japan vellum (none seen), 100 on unidentified Italian handmade. Caslon Old Style types, with Missal initials. Four-page folder, no cover. Black, save for first word on both second and third pages in orange, and device on fourth page in gray. Consists of an extract from Walt Whitman's *Song of Myself*, and another from an unidentified poem by Horace Traubel. Announcement of birth of daughter to Mr. and Mrs. M. M. Breslow. Evidently a presentation announcement by Mr. Bursch for his friends. One of Bursch's finest imprints.

1915

SCHROEDER, THEODORE. *Liberty Through Impersonal Service.* Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed at Hillacre," MCMXV. 15 pp. 3⅝″ x 6⅞″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Self Spacing Old Style types. Cover in black and orange, in Caslon types, with vignette, entitled "Wake Up."

—— *Martyrs or Criminals? An unmoral-analysis of a celebrated case.* Riverside, Connecticut, "Printed at Hillacre," MCMXV. 20 pp. 3⅝″ x 6⅞″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Believed 11-point Old Style #583 types (see *American Specimen Book of Type Styles*, N.p., American Type Founders Company, 1912, p. 133). Cover in black and orange, in Caslon types, with vignette entitled "Wake Up." "Reprinted from the Forum, September, 1915." A comment on the "dynamiting" case of the McNamara brothers.

—— and DR. HAVELOCK ELLIS. *Witchcraft and Obscenity Twin Superstitions.* New York City, Free Speech League, 1912. 16 pp. 3⅝″ x 6¼″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Believed handset in 11-point Scotch Roman types (see *American Specimen Book of Type Styles* [New York], American Type Founders Co., 1912, p. 77). Cover in Self Spacing Old Style, with Ronaldson types, and device of League. No color.

HAPGOOD, HUTCHINS. *Fire and Revolution.* New York City, Free Speech League, 1912. 16 pp. 3⅝″ x 6½″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Believed mainly 11-point Scotch Roman types, with several pages in Self Spacing Old Style or Caslon or Della Robbia. Cover in Self Spacing Old Style and Ronaldson types, with device of League. No color.

[SCHROEDER, THEODORE]. *The Free Speech Case of Jay Fox.* New York City, The Free Speech League, "Sept. 1912." 10 pp. 3½″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Believed chiefly machine-set in 10-point Linotype Scotch (see *Specimen Book Linotype Faces*, Mergenthaler Linotype Company, Brooklyn, New York, N.d., p. 785), with pages in Della Robbia and Cheltenham, either handset or from plates. Title page in Ronaldson, with device of League. No color.

—— *Partial Bibliography Of The Writings Of Theodore Schroeder Dealing Largely With Problems of Religion, Of Sex, And Of Freedom Of Speech.* New York City, Free Speech League, April 1913. 8 pp. 3½″ x 6⅜″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Self Spacing Old Style types, with cover also partly in Ronaldson and one page in Cheltenham, perhaps from a plate. Device of League on cover. No color.

EASTMAN, MAX. *Is The Truth Obscene?* New York City, The Free Speech League [1915]. 12 pp. 3½″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Self Spacing Old Style types, with cover also partly in Ronaldson and one page in Cheltenham, perhaps from a plate. Device of League on cover. No color. "Reprinted from '*The Masses*' March, 1915."

FROM FINAL REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. *Free Speech and Industrial Unrest.* New York City, Free Speech League, 1916. [4] pp. 3⅝″ x 6¼″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Della Robbia types, with some lines in Self Spacing Old Style Italic and one page in Cheltenham, perhaps from a plate. Title page in Caslon and Self Spacing Old Styles. Device of League on cover. No color.

SCHROEDER, THEODORE. *The Meaning of Free Speech (A Sylabus [sic]).* New York, The Free Speech League, 1918. 12 pp. 3¼″ x 6″.

Number of copies unknown. Paper not identified. Self Spacing Old Style types, with cover also partly in Ronaldson. Device of League on cover. No color. Contains portrait of Mr. Schroeder. Reprinted from *The Paladin*, of St. Louis, Mo., V. 1, No. 1, January 12, 1918.

LETTERHEADS

Around 1915 Mr. Bursch is known to have printed letterheads for several persons, at the suggestion or direct request of Mr. Robert Edmond Jones, who is believed to have drawn the cuts therefor.

For the summer home of Mr. Sam Lewisohn, at Peaked Hill Bar, Provincetown, Massachusetts, Mr. Jones requested five hundred sheets, using a cut apparently done by himself. One sheet, 8½″ x 11″, survives, with Mr. Jones' directions for alteration.

Another letterhead, 7¼″ x 10½″, with an elaborate and multi-colored cut of farm houses and livestock, also believed created by Mr. Jones, was printed by Mr. Bursch for Miss Charity G. Finney, then of Finney Farm, Croton-on-Hudson, New York.

POSTERS

NANKIVELL, FRANK A. [*A Poster for* ARROWS IN THE GALE, *by Arturo Giovannitti*]. "Published at Hillacre," [c. 1914]. 1 p. 14½″ x 20″.

Number of copies unknown. Lithograph in orange and black on cream-colored paper watermarked "Brookdale Linen Bond."

MOOREPARK, CARTON. [*A poster for* HAJ, THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS, by Edward Eyre Hunt] [Hillacre, c. 1916], 1 p., 9½″ x 12½″.
Number of copies unknown. Orange and black, on cardboard.

Probably other posters were made at or for Hillacre Bookhouse or for its imprints, but no others have been found.

POSTER STAMPS

Hillacre printed colored "poster stamps," *i.e.*, advertising adhesives, or gummed trade cards, prepared from designs by Frank A. Nankivell or Robert E. Jones. Patrons might have their own stamps prepared by Hillacre artists or from their own submitted designs. Each copy of *Hillacre Books* had one such stamp attached to last page to advertise the idea of such stamps.

Four Hillacre poster stamps have been discovered so far: one by Frank A. Nankivell, advertising "The White Turkey, Beaver Brook Mountain, Danbury, Conn."; the second, attributed to Robert E. Jones, showing a picture of "Elycourt Greenwich Conn."; the third and fourth for Hoggson Brothers, one depicting a large house, the other the front of a bank.

ADDENDA

Material turned up, for the first time, at the Bursch exhibition, Greenwich, Connecticut, June 6-11, 1949.

Mr. William Finch loaned, for that exhibition, three Hillacre imprints not before discovered: (1) the program of a song-cycle recital, *In A Persian Garden* (verses from the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Kháyyám, *via* Fitzgerald), put on for the benefit of the United Workers of Greenwich, July 15, 1910; (2) the yearbook, for 1917-1918, of the Brunswick School for Boys; (3) *Babbler*, for 1917, the yearbook, for that year, of the students of Miss Ely's School for Girls (*Cf.*, under 1915, *Babbler* for that year).

The number of copies are unknown. Only the paper for *Babbler*, 1917 (Utopian), is identified. All are printed chiefly in Caslon Old Style types, with Self Spacing Old Style used for the advertising section in the recital program. The latter is bound in pink wrappers, the yearbooks in brown wrappers. The yearbook for the Brunswick School shows especially attractive use of color (orange) and also shows Bursch using rules on text pages, a comparative rarity.

Lack of space prevents further details.

A Second (?) Title-Page of the Second Edition of *Paradise Lost*

By Harris Fletcher

APPARENTLY the definitive bibliography of seventeenth-century printings, issues, editions, and title-pages of Milton's various publications will only be assembled piecemeal, and its completion may still lie some time in the future. Everyone who has attempted even a tentative listing of such material is aware of the difficulties attendant on describing many of the official or quasi-official documents that almost certainly passed through Milton's hands in one way or another, or for whose publication he was himself almost wholly responsible. Then too there are the various problems connected with his own individual publications, such as the unique (?) British Museum copy of *Epitaphium Damonis*, certainly a separate publication but lacking title-page, that remained buried in that library from 1857 till 1932 before it was properly identified. There is also the bibliographically mysterious *Of Education* of 1644, probably unknown today with a title-page, as well as the unique (?) *Readie and Easie Way* "second edition" 12mo 1660 now at Harvard.

The second edition of *Paradise Lost* (1674) has been taken for granted bibliographically for over two hundred years. Almost no attention has been paid to this book by bibliographers, although Richardson's statement in 1734 that "'tis very scarce" should have been sufficient warning that it might be a treacherous item. Nevertheless this publication, whose appearance in print seemed to be at least as certain as any in the whole range of English literary bibliography, has been universally accepted as

fixed and then neglected to such an extent that there has been practically nothing published concerning its history—see my facsimile edition (*Milton's Complete Poetical Works*, 4 vols. Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1943-1948), Vol. 3 (1948): 7 ff.

In assembling copies for that edition, I found that no item used seemed to be more bibliographically stable than the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. Only fifty or sixty copies of the edition could be located, and if, because it has never been intensively collected and sought after, the number is doubled, perhaps only about one hundred copies of it exist today. The copies that I examined for textual purposes all contained identical title-pages, except for slight variations in inking, impression, type position, or rules, as these were affected by the normal processes of printing. But the letterpress was the same in all of them.

In the course of examining all copies of the second edition that came to my notice, I recently came across one with a different title-page. A picture of this title-page is herewith supplied. The book was secured by the Illinois Library from an English book-dealer in the ordinary fashion and from a very meager description. It is bound in calf, with the remains of an eighteenth (?)-century gilded backstrip carefully attached to the back over the calf. The book was probably bound for John Disney (1779-1857), whose initials in monogram are gold stamped on the outside of the front cover and his (?) lion statant stamped in gold on the outside of the back cover. The end papers are supplied, much whiter than the paper stock of the letterpress, and perhaps date from about 1800, though no date occurs in their watermark. Disney's engraved (coat of arms) monogrammed bookplate is on the inside (red, brown, and blue marbled) paster sheet of the front cover. On the blank leaf (supplied) before the portrait is written "J Jirvis| London, April, 1817.| From the Milton Cabinet| at the Hyde.|" The portrait follows the blank leaf, and, as usual, the stub of the other leaf conjugate with the portrait leaf

is found wrapped round the A signature, which latter is the usual four leaf half-sheet containing a 1674 watermark (my number 8). The stub of the other leaf conjugate with the portrait leaf occurs between the end of the A signature and the beginning of the B signature. The title-page, reproduced herewith, is tipped on to the stub of a leaf [A1] conjugate with the fourth leaf of the preliminary material. The title-page leaf contains in its upper right-hand corner (recto) a fragment of a much larger watermark unlike any of the watermarks known to me in any copy of the second edition previously examined.

What follows this title-page is in no way remarkable, and from the beginning of the letterpress proper, including the portrait, the copy presents no unusual features. All signatures are printed in my State 2, except for the minor points on pages 12 and 16 (part of the recto as bound of Signature B), which are in State 1. Thus, the copy is of no more textual significance than many other copies, and its entire significance lies in its unusual and perhaps unique title-page.

The title-page has been partly or entirely reset, but with the same type or from the same font or fonts as the usual second edition title-pages. The rules are different, and the printed page is both a little taller and a little wider than the 1674 title-page. In general, except for changed letters probably from the same font or fonts and in some cases using sounder type, the page is the same as the regular 1674 title-page down to the boxing below the author's name. Certainly the black letter of line 8 has been reset, and the letter forms are slightly different. However, the most striking change is in the bottom boxing. Simmons or whoever supplied it in this 1675 title-page has greatly altered the 1674 statement in the corresponding boxing.

Exactly what is this copy? It seems to me that there are only three possibilities to account for it. The first possibility is that it is a forged title-page, made up, like the well-known Lockwood copy of the first edition, long after its date. But unlike the Lock-

Paradise Lost.

A POEM IN TWELVE BOOKS.

The Author
JOHN MILTON.

The Second Edition
Revised and Augmented by the
same Author.

LONDON.

Printed by *S. Simmons*, and to be sold by *T. Helder*,
at the sign of the *Angel* in *Little Britain*, 1675.

wood copy, the type of the 1675 copy is the usual modified Garamond of the second edition, and not eighteenth-century Caslon, or some other later type design. That is, if the title-page is a forgery, it is an exceedingly clever one, even the paper being authentic in appearance and age, though the watermark differs from all watermarks observed in copies with 1674 title-pages. This difference would be expected, as a title-page printed a year or more later than the original could scarcely be expected to be on exactly the same paper stock.

The second possibility is that the title-page was made, not as a forgery, but as a careful and faithful replacement of a badly worn or mutilated 1674 title-page. As the whole matter of different title-pages probably for all Milton's publications scarcely became of much concern till well after 1800, such a procedure almost any time before that date would not have been looked on as in any way reprehensible. Some support for such procedure is gained by supposing that the producer of the 1675 title-page guessed at the date, and then more or less copied the material found on the 1669[1] title-page, only inserting the "second edition" statement. At least one similar performance was found in 1671 copy 3 (see my facsimile edition, Volume 4, page 50, footnote) in which case it was the License leaf that was so supplied.

The third possibility is that the title-page with the 1675 date is perfectly authentic, and represents a second title-page for the second edition that Simmons printed for use with unsold stock a year or so after the appearance of the 1674 edition. Certainly he had done exactly this in 1667, 1668, and 1669, for the deluge of title-pages he had used for the stock of the first edition. There is nothing about the 1675 title-page to suggest any other explanation of it.

The Illinois copy was bound about 1800 in full calf, with the backstrip remaining from an earlier eighteenth-century edition carefully pasted on; it was probably bound for John Disney; it contains the portrait, followed by the unusual title-page tipped

onto the stub of leaf [A1]; and the rest of the book is perfectly normal. No other copy with such a title-page has ever been described, and perhaps no other is known.

I have hesitated to accept this 1675 title-page as authentic until and unless another like it appears. In my facsimile edition, no real bibliographical point was allowed to rest on the testimony of a single copy, every such point being forced to await verification by a second copy. Thus, I am treating this 1675 unique (?) title-page as either a monstrosity or a mystery. If another copy is known or can be found, the mystery might be cleared up if the two are identical. Until then, while I am inclined to believe its authenticity, I can only call for aid from any and all persons interested to inform us as soon as possible if another 1675, second edition title-page of *Paradise Lost* is located.

The Early Editions of *The Ant and the Nightingale*[1]

By George R. Price

PROBABLY because the plague reduced the demand for plays in 1604, Thomas Middleton published two pamphlets in that year, *The Black Book* and *The Ant and the Nightingale* (which is also entitled *Father Hubburd's Tales*). In this article I should like to clarify the relation of the two editions of the second tract and correct a misapprehension about its publication. In a valuable examination of this pamphlet in connection with the date and the patron of *The Ghost of Lucrece*, Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams remarked that Middleton "to his obvious satisfaction, found an 'honest' publisher in Thomas Bushell" and "began pleasant relations with Bushell and Creed."[2] Although Bushell may have been honest, the evidence indicates that he was at least careless with this tract, and that Middleton not only had reason for dissatisfaction with him, but probably expressed it.

The tract was entered in the Stationers' Register on 3 January 1603/4:[3]

> Thomas Bushell | Entered for his Copie vnder the handes of Master ABRAHAM HARTWELL and the wardens A booke called. *The Nyghtingale and the Ante. A Jove surgit opus* . . . vj[d].

[1] The material for this article was gathered during a fellowship at The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948. Since preparing the paper, I have seen an article on the subject by Prof. M. A. Shaaber in *The Chronicle of the Library* of the University of Pennsylvania, XIV: 13-16 (1947), but our conclusions differ.

[2] *The Ghost of Lucrece*, ed. by J. Q. Adams (Washington, The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1937), "Introduction," p. xxiii.

[3] E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640 A. D.* (London, 1876), III: 250.

Apparently the man who made the entry had the manuscript title-page before him; otherwise he would not have mistakenly copied the Latin motto. As Dr. Adams observed,[4] the motto, which also occurs twice in *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased* (1597), establishes the common authorship of these works, which has been doubted in spite of the author's name and initials in them. It is also noteworthy that the title as entered evidently represents Middleton's first intention, and that it has a natural order, for the Nightingale is the first speaker in the narrative.

However, in the first edition (which the *Short Title Catalogue* numbers as second, 17781[5]) the title-page reads: THE ANT,| AND THE| Nightingale:| OR| FATHER| *Hubburds* Tales.| [McKerrow, Device no. 313, Thomas Bushell's]| LONDON| Printed by T. C. for Tho: Bushell, and| are to be solde by *Ieffrey Chorlton*, at his| Shop at the North doore| of Paules, 1604.| That T. C. was Thomas Creede is proved by comparison of the initials S and I, on signatures A4r and C2r respectively, with the impressions found in *STC* 6968, Dod and Cleaver, *A Plaine and familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements*, "Printed by T. C. for Thomas Man" (1604), signatures A2r and H4r. The largest A's on the title-pages of both are from the same font; and Creede's mark (McKerrow, Device no. 299) appears. The band ornaments of *AN*, at the head and foot of B1r, are from the same die as, or are identical with, those in the *Exposition*, Ff3r and A3v. The tailpiece of *AN* on F4v was used again in *STC* 7276, DuChesne (Quercetanus), *The Practise of Chymicall and Hermeticall Physicke*, "Printed by Thomas Creede" (1605), signature *2v. Even more

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. xvi.

[5] Since the *STC* numbering is misleading, I shall hereafter refer to 17881 as *AN* and to 17880 as *FHT*.

The evidence for the priority of *AN* is given in this paper. Dyce and Bullen also assumed that *AN* was earlier; *cf.* Dyce, *The Works of Thomas Middleton* (London, E. Lumley, 1840), V: 549, and Bullen, *The Works of Thomas Middleton* (London, Nimmo, 1886), VIII: 49.

That *STC* 17881a is a ghost was suspected by O. M. Willard, *The Library*, 4th series, XXIII: 182 (1945), and noted by J. Q. Adams in the Folger copy of *STC*.

conclusive is the identity of ornamental initials, type, and ornaments in *AN* with those of *FHT*, which was printed by T. C. and has Creede's mark on the title-page.[6]

The evidence that *AN*, rather than *FHT*, is the first edition lies in these facts: First, of course, Bushell's name appears as that of the owner in both the *Stationers' Register* and the imprint of *AN*. Second, the other edition, *FHT*, was printed "for William Cotton," and not for Bushell, although it, also, was printed by Creede. Bushell may have transferred his right to Creede and Cotton, but without entry. It is also possible that Creede alone acquired the copyright, but (not being a bookseller) sold the edition through Cotton; Creede had followed this practice repeatedly, as the entries in the *Register* and the title-pages of the corresponding editions show.[7] Third, the preliminaries of *FHT* were printed first, the text beginning on A3r, whereas they appear to have been printed last in *AN*, for they occupy A2r-A4v. Fourth, the textual variants favor the priority of *AN*, as will be shown. And fifth, the large omissions from the text of *AN* seem to have been restored in *FHT*.

It is best to discuss the omissions first, and by means of a theory of the history of the text. As already noted, before the printing

[6] That Bushell and Chorlton had some kind of partnership in 1604 (as Dr. Adams surmised, *op. cit.*, p. xxii, note 2) is further indicated by their joint entry of *Platoes Cap*, 21 March 1604 (Arber, *op. cit.*, III: 256). Moreover, although the entry and imprint of *The Blacke Booke* name only Chorlton, doubtless Creede printed that also, for on E2r the initial I is either identical with that on C2r of *AN* or from an identical casting, the type-faces of the two books are alike in appearance and dimensions, and the lace ornaments (*BB*, A3r and B1r; *AN*, C2r and E3r) appear identical.

[7] In 1594 and 1595 Creede sold several of his copies through William Barley—*e.g.*, *STC* 21009, *The true tragedy of Richard the third*, entered to Creede on 19 June 1594; Arber, *op. cit.*, II: 654. A revealing entry for 20 October 1596 under the names of Creede and Olive reads: "Entred for Richard Oliffes GREENEs *groates* [*worth*] *of witt* printed by John Danter. And Thomas creede from tyme to tyme to print this book for Richard Oliff." *Ibid.*, III: 72. The imprint of the edition, *STC* 12246, states that Creede printed for Olive. Similarly, Creede and Cotton probably shared in the purchase of *AN*.

Creede's entries of his own copies are much fewer after 1600, and none at all occurs in 1604. Presumably he found printing for other stationers lucrative enough. The absence of assignment of *AN* may indicate that the copy was not regarded as very valuable.

began, Middleton seems to have changed his mind about the title, as well as the use of the Latin motto for the title-page. If the changes are indicative of his concern for the literary quality of the tract, he must have been irritated when he opened the printed booklet and discovered that someone had shortened his tract about one-sixth by omitting the section headed "The Ants Tale, when he was| a Scholler," the last of three prose sections which constitute the real substance of the book (the other two are the tales of the Ant as Ploughman and as Soldier). The Scholar makes a bitter satire against Sir Christopher Clutchfist, patron, who had already been pilloried in the Dedication; almost certainly, as Dr. Adams observed,[8] this is Middleton's revenge upon the niggardly Lord Compton, dedicatee of *The Ghost of Lucrece*. If Bushell was afraid of giving offense by publishing the Scholar's tale, it is hard to see why he risked the Dedication. On the other hand, to assume that Middleton was given or sought no opportunity to read proof may be extreme, but seems the likeliest explanation of what happened. Whatever the motive and responsibility, the tract was shortened and the cut concealed from the reader by omitting the last eighteen lines of the canzonet following the Soldier's tale and introducing the Scholar's; and then the abridger borrowed from *The last song* at the end of the tract sixteen lines which he thought fit to close the story and grafted them on. F4r contains chiefly the borrowed stanzas, and the book ends on F4v.

The natural alternative explanation for the absence of the Scholar's tale from *AN* is to suppose that Middleton wrote *AN* as it was published and added the third tale for *FHT*, when the first edition had been sold out. But four facts militate against this explanation: (1) The following phrases, from early lines of *AN*, suggest more than two metamorphoses of the Ant (the italics are mine):

[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxxi. I had decided *AN* is an abridgement before reading Dr. Adams' discussion, which tentatively reaches the same conclusion, p. xxvi, note 3.

Ofttimes a man, as you were once a maide: (B2v)
I haue bene *oft* a man, and so to be,
Is often to be thrall to misery. (B4r)
Did that same Plough-man's weary forme
Discourage thee so much from *others*, (E3r)
Vntill I found by proofe, and knew by course,
That one [*the Ploughman's state*] was bad, but *all the rest* were worse.
(E3r)
. . . but note the crosse Star that *alwaies*| dogd my Fortunes:
(F3v)

Although the word *three* or *thrice* is not used the implication of the italicized expressions seems very strong. (2) The ending of *AN* is very abrupt. (3) If the book enjoyed some popularity (and for that reason Middleton amplified it), why did Bushell relinquish his right in it, as, judging by the imprint of *FHT*, he seems to have done? The Stationers' Register has no record of a transfer. (4) A publisher's decision to sacrifice the academic and autobiographic portions of a tract aimed at the populace is more likely than the author's attempt to amplify a popular work by this sort of material, which was doubtless much less lively than the rest to Middleton's readers.

On the other hand it may be supposed that Middleton himself decided to cut out the clearly autobiographical account by the Scholar and made the welding described above. But no good reason appears for his making the excision. He was not afraid of Lord Compton, for he kept the Dedication, even in the following edition; and the autobiographic passages do enough credit to his learning and character. Possibly Bushell (rather recently launched in business[9]) was striving for economy, and having found, when the printing was well along,[10] that the pamphlet would run into sheet G, requested Creede to keep it within six gatherings.

If *AN* was shortened as described above, it is likely that Mid-

[9] He was made freeman of the Company on 5 February 1599. Arber, *op. cit.*, II: 723.

[10] There are places of sheets C and E where space might have been saved.

dleton went to Bushell and asked for a corrected edition of his pamphlet, and that, Bushell having yielded, Creede persuaded Middleton to allow the new edition to be printed in his shop, where the type was still standing, at least in part, and could be used again. Creede's printing of the second edition[11] implies that the excisions in the first were made at the direction of Bushell, or that Creede convinced Middleton that they were. In sum, the author's protest against the mishandling of his tract[12] probably caused the publication of the corrected edition very soon after the first.

The title-page of the second edition[13] reads as follows: FA-THER| Hubburds Tales:| OR| THE ANT,| And the Night-ingale.| [McKerrow, Device no. 299, Creede's]| LONDON| Printed by T. C. for William Cotton,| and are to be solde at his Shop neare ad-| ioyning to Ludgate. 1604.| Once again the title has been modified, possibly by Middleton; but not apparently to present the pamphlet under the guise of a new work, for the running title remains the same (*The Ant, and the Nightingale*; there is no head title), and the book is also an octavo in 4's, ending with F4r, and so resembles its predecessor in length. In order to end on F4r, the compositor had to put into 41 pages the material which occupies 40 in *AN*, plus 6 pages of the Scholar's tale and 26 lines of verse in stanzas. This compression was accomplished by using greater line length, by shortening many words (to "wel," "al," and the like), and by crowding words within the line. Yet it is noteworthy that the compositor refrained from the use of the ampersand, the tilde, and "$^{e}_{y}$" and "$^{t}_{y}$", which were freely used in *AN*.

[11] The three ornamental initials, S, I, and M, as also the ornamental bands, appear identical in the two editions, and the types are similar in appearance and dimensions. The printer's mark of *FHT* is also found on the title-page [A2r] of Hoby's translation (*STC* 4780) *The Courtier of Counte Baldessar Castilio*, "Printed by Thomas Creede," 1603; and the tailpiece on B3v of *FHT* occurs on A3v of *STC* 12752, Harbert, *A Prophesie of Cadwallader*, "Printed by Thomas Creede," 1604.

[12] In the three known copies of *AN* (Folger, Huntington, and Bodleian) I find but two variants, stop-press corrections. The Folger copy lacks three leaves, F2-F4.

[13] Only one surviving copy is known, British Museum C.30.f.5.

The variants between the editions have interest, in view of the history suggested above. The title-page of *FHT* has been reset. The Dedication to Clutchfist has been reprinted from standing type; there are no variants, and the type is identical. The foreword "To the Reader," however, has been reset, although from the same font and line for line; *AN* was certainly used as copy here. Of the fifteen variants in the foreword, three are worth mentioning. Two are ironical: Where *AN* reads "true spelling Prin-|ter" (A4r), *FHT* has "true spelling Prit-|ter" (A3r); and where Middleton complimented Bushell prematurely as an "honest-stitching Bookeseller" in *AN* (A4r), we find "honest-minded Booke-seller" in *FHT* (A3r). The reappearance of any compliment to Bushell in the second edition appears contradictory of the history described, but a plausible explanation can, I think, be found. I know of no evidence that Middleton's disposition was vindictive (his vein of irony suggests the contrary); very likely, having asked for and obtained a resetting of the tract, he did not take the trouble to rewrite the foreword. "Honest-minded" is ambiguous; possibly Creede himself used a little irony here, overlooking the misprint at his own expense, just above.

The third variant is the last word on signature A4r of *AN*. In the copies of *AN* it varies between "Rag-" and "Rug-"[14] ("ged" is the catch syllable, and "bears" completes the phrase). That "rugged" was the word intended by Middleton is fairly certain, for on D4v of *FHT* we find the line "Didst thou put on a rugged Souldier then?" Moreover, "rugged bears" (*i. e.*, "shaggy bears") makes better sense. As *FHT* has "Rag-," its foreword was set from an uncorrected copy of *AN*, and probably not proofread at all, for the last word of the body is an obvious error, "Companie" for "Companies." The foreword also corroborates the sequence of editions in that *FHT* twice expands "thē" to "then," according to a prevailing difference throughout the two

[14] "Rug-" in the Huntington Library copy, "Rag-" in the Folger and Bodleian ones.

editions; similarly, single hyphens predominate (in foreword and text) in *FHT*, double hyphens in *AN*. Hence it is certain that the foreword of *FHT* is not a resetting used in some copies of *AN*, but was set immediately for *FHT*.

It is less certain that Creede's compositor worked from a copy of *AN* corrected by Middleton, while setting the text proper of *FHT*. Although I think he used a manuscript, the evidence of the variants is not decisive. Putting aside 323 insignificant changes of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, I find 137 variants of which one can say that some are superior in sense and some are closer to Middleton's usual spelling.[15] The distribution of these significant variants between the two editions is as follows: Of the first group (those superior in sense because of either diction or punctuation) 17 are in *AN*, 22 in *FHT*. Considering only the totals, the superiority of *FHT* (presumably a corrected text) is not great. Furthermore, although *FHT* makes some striking improvements, *AN* is often superior especially in its latter leaves, which are the middle of *FHT*. Some of the first class of variants follow, with better readings starred:[16]

AN	*FHT*
B2r with their sentence	*B1r with this sentence
B2v of poore men you	*B1v of poore me, you
*C3r for I haue heard there was| once such a one	C2r for I heard there was once such a one
C3v head was drest vp in white Feathers| like a Shuttle-Cock, that two	*C2r head was drest vp in white Feathers like a Shuttle-Cock,| which agreed so wel with his braine, being nothing but Corke,| that two
C3v as wings . . . was as litle	*C2v his| wings . . . was as litle

[15] Examples of superiority in diction are given below. In judging punctuation I assign superiority where a point is inserted to separate independent clauses not otherwise separated, or where a query replaces a period after a question; but I do not distinguish between comma and period for separation of statements, nor insist on commas for non-essential modifiers—or similar niceties commonly not observed at the time.

[16] I determine the better reading usually by context, occasionally by idiom.

*D2r	Law: for ti's	C4v	Law: ti's
*E1r	had we not knowne	D2v	had we knowne
*E1v	was growne as absolute	D3r	was absolute
E3r	[Speech head omitted.]	*D4v	*Ant.*
*E3v	to no other| vse	E1r	to no vse
*F2r	Neuerthelesse	E3r	Neuer-| lesse
*F2v	for my bleeding	E3v	for bleeding
*F3r	was warme lapt	E4r	was|lapt
F3r	made men	*E4r	made me
*F3v	the peeuish for-|tunes	E4r	y^e^ peeuish turnes
*F4r	the body	E4v	thy body

Doubtless the first deduction to be made from these variants is that the compositor of *FHT* worked, somewhat carelessly, from a copy of *AN* corrected by the author; but if this supposition is true, perhaps the majority of superior readings in *FHT* ought to be more decisive than it is.

The second class of variants mentioned above, in which one spelling is closer to Middleton's than the other, more definitely suggests a closer link between *AN* and the manuscript. Fortunately, many pages of Middleton's autograph of parts of *The Game at Chesse* have been preserved, and consequently one can say with assurance what many of his usual spellings were. For instance, it is clear that he doubled the final consonant of many monosyllables like *Nett, gett, hott;* split such verbal forms as *ha's, ti's,* and *do's;* preferred *agen, litle, frends, vppon, goodnes,* and the preterites *liude, moude, cride, facsd, silencst, seducst,* and the like. On the basis of such assured preferences I find that out of 98 spelling variants, *AN* has 71 words closer to Middleton's forms, and *FHT* has 27. But here again, I think, the proportion of superior readings in *FHT* is rather high, and suggests that the copy for *FHT* was a manuscript, from which, presumably, the Scholar's tale and the omitted stanzas had to be taken. Hence the almost equal number of readings superior in sense.[17] It is also to be

[17] One variant in particular suggests a manuscript as copy for *FHT*. On F3v of *AN* is "I . . . slipt into an ant agen"; though the stem of the *p* is lacking, the word is

noted that insignificant variants in *FHT* are not used for justification; many of them are expansions, although the compositor was crowding the lines. Furthermore, as noted above, the preliminaries do not seem to have been corrected by the author, and the compliment to Bushell is retained—as if a manuscript of the text alone were used as copy, separate from preliminaries.

The make-up of the two editions deserves a comment also. *AN* is an octavo, for the chain lines run vertically. The watermark has been cut away. The octavo has been printed in gatherings of 4's and apparently in quarto-fashion, on paper already cut. Though the evidence for this lies principally in the running titles, it is also to be noted that the book is large in size (the type page is *ca.* 14.5 cm. x 8 cm.). The running titles, which take the form *The Ant, and the Nightingale.*, are not all positively distinguishable even after prolonged study; but in spite of the doubtfulness of some, the movements of enough titles can be identified to draw reliable conclusions.[18]

Examination of the movements of the running titles from sheet B to sheet C reveals a procedure not uncommon in printing quartos, that of beginning the presswork with one skeleton and,

legible. On E4v of *FHT* is "I . . . sltnt into an ant" (which Dyce reads "stint," but he is wrong). Possibly "slipt" is not what Middleton intended. But the error of *FHT* appears to be due to an illegibility in the MS, rather than in *AN*.

Assuming a thoroughly corrected copy of *AN* as copy for *FHT*, it is hard to explain Middleton's allowing this to pass:

AN, D4v: the| most vnfortunatest Gentleman liuing, at (passage I| meane: (for . . .

FHT, D2v: the most vnfortunatest Gentle-|man liuing, at (passage I meane:) for . . .

That the foreword in *FHT* is set from that in *AN* may be accounted for by supposing that it was supplied for *AN* after the MS of the text had been put in Creede's hands (certainly it was set last). Hence it was a detached paper and may have been lost.

[18] Ten running titles were set for *AN* and used as follows (the series that are certain are in roman, those that are probable in italic):

B1r, B2r, C4r, D4r, E4r, F1v	C1r, D3v, E3v, F2v
B1v, C3v, D1v, E1v, F4v	*(C1v blank, C2r section title)*
B2v, F3v	C2v, D2v, E4v, F4r
B3r	*C3r, D3r, E3r*
B3v, B4v, C4v, D4v, E2v, F1r	D2r, E2r, F3r
B4r, D1r, E1r, F2r	

after a few formes have been done, adding a second. For *AN* the second skeleton was employed beginning with the fourth forme, outer C. Two titles, those of B1r and B4v, passed from outer B to inner B.[19] One skeleton, therefore, was used for both formes of B. Two titles, those of B1v and B2r, were moved from inner B to inner C; the other two pages of inner C required no titles. A second skeleton was used for outer C, three new titles being set and one old one being taken from B3v. Obviously, there are peculiarities in these series, such as the loss of B3r and allowing of B2v and B4r to stand until sheets F and D were reached; but the oddities do not invalidate the evidence of quarto-printing.

By the alternative method, half-sheet imposition of an octavo, the movements of titles are limited in the following ways:[20] When the inner and outer formes of one gathering are imposed in one skeleton, of course there can be no migration from inner to outer forme or vice versa, or any migration within either forme. And when corresponding formes of successive gatherings are imposed together (for instance, inner B and inner C), a title cannot migrate within either forme or between them or occur in three formes of two successive gatherings. Because of these limitations, no method of half-sheet imposition I know of accounts for the arrangement of titles on B and C of *AN;* for an unmistakable title appears twice on inner B and again on inner C.[21] Although the imposing of both inner and outer formes of each gathering in one skeleton is a possible method from C to F, printing quarto-fashion on paper already cut is a rational explanation for all the series, two skeletons having been used after inner C. However, the series suggest rather desultory work.

[19] Inner B might have preceded outer B, but the movement of two titles (those of B1v and B2r) *together* to inner C was more natural if outer B preceded. The other two titles of inner B, not being needed for inner C, went, one to outer C, and the other to outer D.

[20] F. T. Bowers, *The Headline in Early Books*, in: *The English Institute Annual* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941), pp. 185-205.

[21] The movements of titles from B1r to B2r and from B4v to B3v are corroborated by ornamental head- and foot-bands, which were handled as part of the skeleton.

FHT, also an octavo, was probably printed by the same method; however, but one skeleton was used for the four formes of A and B; a second was introduced at C. Though from the same font, the running titles of *FHT* were not actually transferred from *AN*, but were new settings.[22] It must be granted that half-sheet imposition using both formes of one gathering in one skeleton could have printed *FHT*; but the movement of titles from B to C becomes considerably more rational when explained by quarto-printing.[23] *FHT* is also a large octavo (the type page measures *ca.* 14.9 cm. x 8.6 cm.). Since only one copy is known to survive, probably the edition was small. Possibly it used up the remainder of a stock of large-size paper which Creede had on hand.

[22] I have seen only photostatic and microfilm copies of *FHT*, but I am sure that this is so.

The dimensions of the type-page, given below, I owe to the courtesy of Mr. H. Sellers of the British Museum.

[23] The series are as follows:
A4r, B2v, C1v, D1v, E1v, F1v
A4v, B3r, C2r, D2r, E2r, F2r
B1r, C3v, D3v, E3v, F3v
B1v, C4v, D4v, E4v *(F4v is blank)*
B2r, C4r, D4r, E4r, F4r
B3v, C3r, D3r, E3r, F3r
B4r, C2v, D2v, E2v, F2v *(B4v blank, C1r section title)*
D1r, E1r, F1r

Bibliographical Notes

A Spanish Incunable?

Comas, Guillermus Petrus. Quaestio de sudore sanguinis Christi. [Barcelona: Johann Luschner, ca. 1498].

This book was listed, with reservations, by Konrad Haebler (*Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo XV*, La Haya, 1903-1917, II: 44) under no. 159 (5) and was subsequently described by the *Gesamtkatalog*, no. 7251. The only known copies are in the Public Library of Victoria at Melbourne and in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville. It is certain, however, that this edition is not a fifteenth-century one. The work has the dedication "Ad Reuerendissimum in Christo patrem et virum sapientissimum dominum Martinum Garziam Episcopum Barcinonencem meritissimum ac dominum meum obseruandissimum." According to Conrad Eubel (*Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, Monasterii, 1913-1923, III: 129), Martín García was created Bishop of Barcelona on 27 August 1511 in succession to Henricus de Cardona, while Pius Bonifacius Gams (*Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, Leipzig, 1931, p. 15) sets the date as 21 August 1512. Whichever may be the correct date, it is perfectly self-evident that this work by Comas cannot be an incunabulum since it is dedicated to a Bishop of Barcelona who was not appointed to this see till well after 1501. This book should therefore be deleted from the list of fifteenth-century books.

CURT F. BÜHLER

*Thomas D'Urfey's "Comical History of Don Quixote," 1694**

Thomas D'Urfey's *Comical History of Don Quixote* (1694) is a play in three parts. Part I was published by Samuel Briscoe on July 5, 1694,[1] followed on July 23, 1694,[2] by Part II published by Briscoe and H. New-

* The material for this note was collected under grant from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center for the preparation of a descriptive bibliography of the Restoration drama.

[1] *London Gazette*, no. 2989, July 2-5, 1694.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 2994, July 19-23, 1694.

man. Part III, its title post-dated 1696, was published by Briscoe alone on December 17, 1695.[3]

Part III and the first edition of Part I present no problems. However, the second edition of Part I, also dated 1694 and purporting in its imprint to be published by Briscoe alone, is not what it seems.[4] On sig. $A2^v$ appears an advertisement listing six books but without bookseller's name. On $H1^v$ appears a longer advertisement of books sold by R. Wellington at the Lute. In this last list there are several books published in a second edition in 1698 by Wellington (*vide* Vanbrugh's *Relapse* and Southerne's *Sir Anthony Love*), but the advertisement could as easily refer to the earlier editions still being sold. The latest possible date that can be assigned with complete certainty, therefore, is to Powell's *Imposture Defeated*, advertised in *The Post Boy* for November 16-18, 1697, as having been published on November 18, 1697.

When we turn to the list in the preliminaries on $A2^v$ we find, as we should expect, later books listed as newly published. Of these, only the third volume of the Sheers-Dryden *History of Polybius* (*Term Catalogue*, February, 1698) was published by Briscoe; the remaining five were issued by Wellington in connection with other booksellers. The latest books in this group are the second editions of three plays by Aphra Behn, *The City-Heiress*, *The Roundheads*, and *The Young King*, which Wellington advertised in *The Post Boy* for April 30-May 3, 1698, as published on May 3. It is faintly possible, however, that this advertisement could refer to remainder copies acquired by Wellington and bound together as a collection, and that his true 1698 second editions of these plays came afterwards. To be conservative, therefore, we must go back to the first edition of Crowne's *Caligula*, advertised as published on March 31 in *The Flying Post*, March 29-31, 1698.

The advertisements for these books demonstrate that the 1694 date in the imprint of the second edition of *Don Quixote*, Part I, cannot be correct. As approximately the earliest date that this edition could have been published, therefore, we may take March 31, 1698, with a very strong probability that this date can be moved up to May 3, 1698.[5] Sometime in 1699,

[3] *Ibid.*, no. 3140, Dec. 12-16, 1695.

[4] This second edition is listed as 503a in the supplement to Gertrude L. Woodward and James G. McManaway, *A Check List of English Plays 1641-1700* (Chicago, Newberry Library, 1945), page 150. It is distinguished from the first edition by the statement on its title *As it was acted* instead of the *As it is acted* found in the first edition, and also by its condensed collation, 4°: $A\text{-}G^4H1$.

[5] The second edition of Southerne's *Sir Anthony Love* was advertised by Wellington as published on October 4, 1698 (*The Post Man*, October 1-4, 1698), but it is

Wellington moved or changed his sign to the Dolphin; hence the H1^{v} advertisement naming the Lute seems to point to the year 1698 or early 1699 for Part I, second edition. If we may trust to the evidence of footnote 5 above, the date may be narrowed by being placed before October, 1698, a hypothesis assisted by the fact that no certainly identifiable plays published by Wellington after May are listed, and all the books in the A2^{v} advertisement appear in the February or May *Term Catalogue*. With more than fair certainty, therefore, we may assign a dating between April and October of 1698, with a leaning towards the latter part of May. Presumably this second edition of Part I was called for to help make up collected copies with Parts II and III, the first part having been exhausted by reason of its earlier sale.

The first edition of Part II (1694) is of some interest since it contains unrecorded variants which could not be listed completely or analyzed in the designedly tentative note in the Woodward and McManaway supplement under no. 503b (page 151). The facts are these. Actually, three (not two) variant titles exist, the result of two stages of press-alteration in the original setting. In their order through the press they may be recognized by the following points. The first title setting had a rule placed above the line "By Their Majeſties Servants." and spelled the author's name as "*Durfey.*" The title is on sig. [A]1 recto of the outer forme. On sig. [A]3, line 1, the letter "*r*" in "*there*" is turned, and in lines 7-8 the division is ". . . *extream-* | *well* . . . ." The catchword on sig. [A]3 is correctly "PRO-". At some time during the printing of this forme the press was stopped to alter the spelling of the author's name on the title to "*D'urfey.*" No other corrections were made in the title or in the rest of the forme. At a still later time, the press was stopped again and the third state produced as a part of some small press-correction of the forme. On the title the rule above "By Their Majeſties Servants." was removed and the spacing improved, the author's name remaining as "*D'urfey.*" On sig. [A]3 the turned letter in "*there*" was corrected, and line 7 was altered to end with the full word "*extreamly*". Curiously, the correct catchword "PRO-" was at the same time changed to the incorrect "PRE-", perhaps through some confusion with the heading "THE | PREFACE." on sig. [A]2^{v} owing to the way in which the forme may have been turned on the bench, if it had been removed from the bed of the press.

Other variants occur in the text as the result of press-alteration. The

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likely that the advertisement on H1^{v} for this play is for remaining copies of the first edition of 1691, since the latest books are concentrated on A2^{v}, all of these being published in 1698.

most important group appears in the inner forme of sheet D. Sigs. D3^{v}-4^{r} are occupied by a song. The catchword on sig. D3 recto is "SONG" and in one version the song, so headed, begins sig. D3^{v}, the page ending with the fifth line of the third stanza, followed by the catchword "*Oh!*" At the foot of sig. D4 recto at the end of the song appears a stage-direction beginning "Pedro *waves his Wand, and Mufick founds again. Then is perform'd a fecond Entertainment.* . . ." In the first line of the song on sig. D3^{v} is found the reading "Sylvian". In the second version, a stage-direction heads sig. D3^{v}: "Pedro *waves his Wand, then here is perform'd this Song fung by a Milkmaid, and followed by a Dance of Milkmaids.*" The song, its first line with the reading "Sylvan", follows, the page ending with the second stanza and the catchword "III. *When*". The stage-direction for the second entertainment (which was not concerned with the milkmaids) at the foot of sig. D4 is lacking. In the transference of type between the two pages in these versions the setting remains the same and there are no other textual variations.

The correct order through the press of these variants, perhaps somewhat obscure on the conflicting textual evidence, is readily solved by a piece of strictly bibliographical evidence. Although no changes were made in the type-page on sig. D1^{v} of the inner forme, the running-title was disturbed in the headline by the alterations in the other pages of the forme. When the stage-direction at the head of sig. D3^{v} is lacking and the first line of the song contains the reading "Sylvian", we always find that the measurement of the running-title on sig. D1^{v} in relation to the type-page margins agrees with the previous appearances of this same running-title on sigs. B1^{v} and C1^{v} but disagrees with the measurement of the identical running-title when it appears again on sig. E1^{v}. Correspondingly, when the stage-direction heads sig. D3^{v}, when none is present at the foot of sig. D4 recto, and when the reading is "Sylvan", we always find that the different measurement on sig. D1^{v} disagrees with that on sigs. B1^{v} and C1^{v} but agrees with that on sig. E1^{v}. This is certain proof that the version without the heading stage-direction and with "Sylvian" was first printed, and that the alterations described were the results of press-correction, the newly spaced running-title being preserved in the skeleton-forme to print sig. E1^{v}.

One further point of variance should be mentioned. In some copies the inner forme of sheet E is mispaged, pages 26-27 being misprinted as 18-19, and pages 30-31 as 22-23. Since the wrong pagination corresponds to that for inner D, and since the skeleton-forme of inner D was used to impose inner E, it is clear that the early pulls of inner E were made from

a forme in which the compositor had forgotten to alter the pagination, and that he later stopped the press to correct the numbering. As we should expect, the mispagination occurs indifferently with any one of the three states of the title-page gathering, and hence cannot be taken as any point of "issue."

This quarto is one of the numerous examples of Restoration plays which seem to have been composed and printed in two sections simultaneously on two presses. The type of the running-titles changes beginning with sig. F1, indicating the construction of new skeleton-formes, and this alteration is accompanied by a change in font of type from that used in sheets B-E measuring 82 mm. for 20 lines to the font used in sheets F-I measuring 81 mm.

FREDSON BOWERS

Two Editions of John Wilkins's "Mathematicall Magick," London, 1648

It seems to be unnoted that there are two editions of *Mathematicall Magick*, by John Wilkins, dated 1648, both of which purport to be printed by M[iles]. F[lesher]. for Sa[muel] Gellibrand, but which differ on every page in spelling, punctuation or composition. Although there are hundreds of such differences, a few criteria suffice to distinguish between these editions. For convenience, I shall call them "A" and "B".

The title-page of "A" has the spellings "VVONDERS" and "POVVERS"; "B" has "WONDERS" and "POWERS". The author's initials are given as "I.W." and "J.W." respectively and, in the imprint, "Sa:" is replaced by "Sa."

Each page of text is set within a ruled box and a vertical rule separates the marginal notes from the text proper. In "A", this rule continues to the top of the page and the rule under the running-title is made up of two pieces. The page numeral appears in a separate box. In "B", the vertical rule stops below the horizontal rule, which runs across the page.

The large initial letters in "A" are crude woodcuts. In "B", they are made up of type ornaments. Some of the woodcut illustrations in "B" show signs of wear and others have been replaced by entirely new blocks. These are excellent copies of those in "A", but minor differences can be found.

"B" follows "A" page-for-page, except for one instance (pages 13-14), but it follows line-for-line only occasionally.

Copies of both editions are owned by the writer.

ALBERT E. LOWNES

Henry Crosse's "Vertues Common-wealth"

Vertues Common-wealth| OR| THE HIGH-WAY| to Honour.| Wherein is diſcouered, that although by the diſ-| guised craft of this age, vice and ignorance may be| exalted: yet by *Tyme* (the triall of truth) it| is moſt manifeſtly reprooued.| Haud curo indiuiam [*sic*]| By *Henry Croſſe.*| [printer's mark of Thomas Creede, McKerrow 299] LONDON| Printed for Iohn Newbery, dwelling in Paules Church| yard, at the Signe of the Ball.| 1603.

A-V⁴. 4to.

In 1603 John Newbery published Henry Crosse's *Vertues common-wealth, or The highway to honour.* This volume, about whose author nothing is known, is of interest both bibliographically and because of its subject matter. It is entered in the *STC* as 6070, with another issue, dated 1605, as *STC* 6071. There is also another issue not listed in the *STC* or in the Bishop list.

The title-page given above is that of the first issue. The dedication is addressed "To the right honourable the Lord Mayor." There was also another issue dated 1603 with the title-page partly reset:

VERTVES| Common-wealth:| *OR*| THE HIGH-WAY TO| *HONOVR.*| Wherin is diſcouered, that although by the diſ-| guiſed craft of this age, vice and hypocriſie may be| concealed: yet by *Tyme* (the triall of truth)| it is moſt plainly reuealed.| *Neceſſary for age to moue diligence, profitable for youth to ſhun| wantonneſſe: and bringing to both at laſt de-| ſired happineſſe.*| Haud curo inuidiam.| By *Henry Croſſe.*| [printer's mark of Thomas Creede, McKerrow 299] LONDON| Printed for Iohn Newbery, dwelling in Paules Church| yard, at the Signe of the Ball. 1603.

This issue can also be distinguished by the fact that the dedication has been partly reset, beginning "To the right honourable Robert Lee, Lord Maior," and it includes some additional matter and slight rewording. This leaf also is incorrectly signed A2 instead of A3. This issue is probably later, for the appearance of the title-page has been improved by using larger type for the title "Vertues Common-wealth" than for the alternate title, which was originally in much larger type than the main title. Also it seems unlikely that the dedication would be changed in order to remove the mayor's name and the additional material. Lee had been chosen mayor in the fall of 1602, was knighted on 22 May 1603, and would have been called Sir Robert Lee after that date. Finally, there is the fact that "indiuiam" in the first issue has been corrected to "inuidiam."

In 1605 the book was reissued again, this time with an entirely different title-page:

THE| Schoole of Pollicie:| OR| The araignement of State-abufes.| Directing Magiſtrates, adorning the Court, and beau-|tifying the whole Commonwealth.| (***)| *Naſcimur pro Patria*| [row of type ornaments; ornaments; row of type ornaments] ¶Printed at London by Valentine Sims for Nathanael| Butter, dwelling in Paules Churchyard neere| vnto Saint Auſtens gate.| 1605.

This issue varies only in that the title-page, sig. A2r, is a cancel and the dedication leaf, A3, is not present, probably having been cancelled too, since the remaining unsold copies probably had Lee's name in the dedication and he was no longer mayor. The imprint now reads "by Valentine Sims for Nathanael Butter," but of course Sims printed only the title-page. Why Butter should have been the publisher of this issue is not immediately obvious. John Newbery had entered the book originally on 15 November 1602 (Arber III:21) and although he died in 1603 (shown by the two 1603 editions of H. Clapham, *An epistle discoursing upon the present pestilence*, one with imprint "Printed for John Newbery . . ." and the other ". . . Printed for the Widow Newbery") his widow Joan continued in business for some time and took apprentices as late as 11 March 1605 (Arber II:290). Nathaniel Butter, however, was Joan Newbery's son by her previous marriage to Thomas Butter and published a number of Newbery's books, although there are no transfers of them to him in the Stationers' Register. It is interesting to note that in Henry Plomer's *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers . . . 1641-1667* ([Oxford], Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press, 1907), p. 40, Nathaniel Butter is said to be the son of Thomas Butter but no mention is made of his mother. In R. B. McKerrow's *Dictionary of Printers . . .* (London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society, by Blades, East & Blades, 1910), p. 99, Newbery is said to have left a widow Joan, but the fact that she had previously been Thomas Butter's widow is not mentioned. That the families of Butter and Newbery were even more intermixed is shown by the marriage license on 9 October 1611 of Nathaniel Newbery, haberdasher, and Joane Butler, daughter of Thomas Butler [Butter] stationer, deceased (*London Marriage Licenses, 1521-1869*, ed. by Joseph Foster [1887], p. 966). This Nathaniel Newbery may well be the one who was a London bookseller from 1616-1634 (cf. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, p. 199).

There are very few copies of any of these issues. *STC* records two copies of the 1603 issue (O;HN.)—the two issues of this date are not distinguished—and one copy of the 1605 issue (C). The Bishop list adds only the Folger copies of each. The 1603 Folger copy is the first issue; it is the Bullen Reymes-E. G. Troyte-Bullock copy. The 1605 Folger copy is the David Herd-Heber-Britwell Court copy. The Hogan copy (the first 1603

issue) was sold at auction on 24 April 1946. The Bodleian copy is the second 1603 issue; it lacks the leaf (A4) "To the curteous Reader." The Jolley-Halliwell-Huth-Huntington copy is the second 1603 issue. The Major E. W. McDonald-C. K. Shorter copy is said, in the Sotheby catalogue of the latter's sale (2-4 April 1928, no. 467), to be the first issue, but the description given it there makes it appear to be the second issue. While the Sotheby cataloguers were aware of the two variant titles, they did not know of the variant dedications. They were of the opinion that the title-page I believe to be earlier and less pleasing to the eye, and certainly containing a mistake in spelling which they did not notice (indiuiam for inuidiam), was "more cogent in wording and more harmonious in appearance . . . [and] may reasonably be assumed to be later." This catalogue also said that there were only two other perfect copies believed to be known (Bodleian and Huntington). The price of this copy dropped from £470 in 1926 to £200 in 1928. This is probably the copy now in the British Museum. An imperfect copy, called first edition, sold at Sotheby's on 16 July 1934, no. 291.

The only reprint of the work is one published in 1878 by A. B. Grosart, using the Bodleian copy, which he thought to be unique. He guessed correctly that *The schoole of pollicie*, 1605, was a reissue but he knew of no copy of it. His reproduction of the title-page is not a model of accuracy. Before Grosart, however, Heber had evidently seen both a 1603 and 1605 issue, as in a note in his copy of the 1605 issue (now in the Folger library) he wrote: "A copy of this book, dated 1603, entitled 'Vertue's Commonwealth, or the Highway to Honour,' 4to. sewn, was bot by Triphook, (1816) at the Gordonstoun sale for £4.0.0."

The book is important for its description of the manners of the time. The true virtues of man are set forth, but what is emphasized most are his vices. The drunkard, idler, spendthrift, person with a painted face, etc., are exposed. More interesting is the attack on the plays and theatergoers, to which about a dozen pages are devoted. One passage, on sig. Q1r, "these copper lace gentlemen growe rich, purchase lands by adulterous Playes, and not fewe of them usurers and extortioners" was thought by Halliwell to be an allusion to Shakespeare. Plays are attacked as being scandalous and scurrilous, detracting from virtue and adding to vice with their carnal love, adultery, murder, unclean speeches, etc. The low class of persons attending the playhouses are also discussed and condemned (some of these criticisms were reprinted in E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* [Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1923], IV:247). Nor did the author approve of many of the books that were published, complaining that "a Pamphlet

discoursing nought but Paganisme, should be so vendible, and vertuous bookes want sale, the one bought up thicke and three fold, the other lye dead . . . but bookes of Christianitie . . . lieth stil in the Stationers hand as waste paper, not so much as looked after."

RAY O. HUMMEL, JR.

Richard Vennar and "The Double PP"

In his supposed autobiography, *An Apology: Written by Richard Vennar, of Lincolnes Inne, abusively called England's Joy* (1614), Vennar writes:

> . . . considering the pronenesse of many seduced wretches to shake off their most easy yoaks of subjection, and that the damned apparition of that never-to-be forgotten Gunpowder-treason had discovered the shame of our nation . . . , I composed a briefe Treatise, containing matter to retain every subject in his due obedience. . . . Neither must I forget my more publike device in picture and verse, describing a Papist Dormant, a Papist Couchant, a Papist Leavant, a Papist Passant, a Papist Rampant, and a Papist Pendant, it being foode to strengthen feebler bodies, how ever better constitutions may disdain to swallow such weake morsels.[1]

The "device" described above by Vennar recalls a major section of *The Double PP. A Papist in Armes. Bearing Ten seuerall Shields . . . . A Jesuite Marching before them* (1606). In the section, ten such heraldic and quasi-heraldic "Papists" are listed on a separate page as *dramatis personae* and then portrayed individually in fourteen-line stanzas.[2] Four of the six that Vennar names are identically represented in the book, the four being conventional heraldic terms. One of the two types not duplicated, "Papist Dormant," is likewise heraldic while the other, "Papist Leavant" [*i.e.*, "Levant"], is quasi-heraldic, so that both reflect *The Double PP* in portraiture; each, moreover, is linked with the book by the term "Couchant."[3] It is likely, therefore, that the "device" that Vennar is referring to is at least the section of *The Double PP* depicting "A Papist in Armes." Further evidence strengthens this identification. First of all, since *The Double PP* was

[1] Edited by John P. Collier, *Illustrations of Old English Literature* (London, Privately printed, 1866), III: 21-22.

[2] Edited by Alexander B. Grosart, *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (1885), II: 171-179. Seven of the types of "Papists" are described in conventional heraldic terms: Couchant, Passant, Passant-Gardant, Volant, Saliant, Rampant, Pendant. The other three types are Variant, Seminant, Vmbreant.

[3] "Couchant" is the heraldic posture closest to "Dormant," and each of these appears first in, respectively, *The Double PP* and Vennar's list. "Couchant," also, is the most obvious quasi-heraldic posture contrasting with "Leavant."

entered in the *Stationers' Register* on December 9, 1605, five weeks after the Gunpowder Plot, its likely date of composition coincides with that alluded to by Vennar in his description. Secondly, it satisfies Vennar's implication that the work was provoked by the Gunpowder Plot.[4] Finally, the possibility that Vennar is referring to another work of 1606, more or less duplicated by a section of *The Double PP*, is virtually removed by the fact that the section in question can be shown to echo the source of the latter part of the section preceding it. This source, as acknowledged in *The Double PP*, is the 1605 edition of *De Fratribus Jesuitis* by Charles Molinae.[5]

Now, the section of *The Double PP* that Vennar is taken to be referring to is so major and integral a part of the whole work that it is difficult not to identify the entire book with Vennar's "device." Also, Vennar's words, "more publicke device in picture and verse," apply to the whole book. *The Double PP* was "more publicke" than the other piece prompted by the Gunpowder Plot since it was offered to the public, whereas the latter was privately issued.[6] It is a "device"—a "trick"—in that it introduces the main plot as a conventional riddle, with a formal challenge and resolution. Final-

[4] The dedication exhorts the nobility, clergy, and gentry of Great Britain, as follows:

> Since so strange *Commotion*,
> (Now) with giddy base Alarmes
> Puffes the *Romist* vp in Armes,
> That he dares his Cullors vant
> Gainst *th' vnmedling Protestant:*
> O You, that our *Chieftaines* are,
> Giue not 'ore this holy warre,
> Fight it out.

"In this *Germaine Nest* [the Netherlands]," *The Double PP* asserts later, "was this *Diabolicall*, horrid and most impious late Conspiracy hatcht; damnably begotten, miraculously preuented." Grosart, ed., p. 169.

[5] In the portion derived from Molinae (Du Moulin) Jesuits are divided into Latin types as follows: Seductor, Sicarius, Proditor, Explorator, Dauus [defined as "crafty knaue"], and Adulator. In the next, contiguous section "Papists" are classified in French heraldic language which is translated into English terms echoing those Latin types. Thus "Couchant," "Passant-Gardant," and "Rampant" are translated, respectively, as "Fawner" [cp. Molinae's "Seductor"], "Spye" [cp. "Explorator"], and "Cut-throat" [cp. "Sicarius"]. The reference in *The Double PP* to Molinae's *De Fratribus Jesuitis* occurs on p. 165, ed. Grosart.

Collier's identification of the "device" with a "known broadside with wood cuts and verses," is apparently purely conjectural; *ed. cit.*, p. ii. Collier's description of *The Double PP* in *A Biographical and Critical Account* (1866) makes no reference to Vennar or his "device"; I: 242-243.

[6] The tract referred to is *The Trve Testimonie of a Faithfvll Subject.* In *An Apology*, Vennar declares that, with special letters from several judges, he "dispersed" the book in five counties. Collier, *ed. cit.*, p. 22. The cryptic imprint and the personal dedication to James further point to private circulation.

ly, the first section of *The Double PP* has as a caption and running title "The Picture of a Jesuit," and most of the tract is in verse.

Is Vennar, then, the author of *The Double PP?* It seems that he is not. The name of Thomas Dekker appears at the end of a poem dedicating this book to Sir Henry Cock, Knight, and there is no reason to challenge this evidence of authorship. A writer might have risked composing more than one personal dedication to gain several patrons with the same book, but he would not take the chance of representing to a patron as his own work, a book written by someone else who was in a position to reveal the fraud to the patron. And Vennar was in London at about this time.[7]

Vennar's claim to authorship of *The Double PP* in *An Apology* seems, therefore, to be spurious. This claim, it should be added, follows another assertion of authorship that is not accurate and that likewise seems to be deliberately misleading. The treatise that Vennar asserts that he "composed" after the Gunpowder Plot is not new, the first part having already appeared in two previous editions.[8]

As for the "risk" that Vennar took by making the false ascription: it is likely that Vennar thought that a casual claim to an anonymous tract published eight years before and not reprinted would go undetected. What Vennar apparently did not know was that the anonymous book had been reissued for private circulation with the author's name on the dedication![9]

[7] According to *An Apology*, Vennar was arrested and tried in London some time during 1605-1606; Collier, *ed. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[8] The edition of 1602, the second, is entitled "The Right way to Heauen, and a good presedent for Lawyers and all other good Christians. With an Exhortacion to continue all Subiects in their due obedience: together with the reward of a faithful subiect to his Prince. Compiled by Richard Vennard of Lincolnes Inne Gent." The treatise Vennar claims to have "composed" for the occasion of 1605 bears a similar title: "THE TRVE TESTIMONIE OF A FAITHFVL SVBIECT: Containing seuerall exhortations to all estates, to continue them in their due obedience: together with the reward of a faithfull subiect to his Prince. Also a thanksgiuing to God for the happie deliuery of the house of Parliament from the late horrible treason. Imprinted at London. [N.D.]" The first part of the latter, the "testimony," with "several exhortations" and the "reward," repeats the second part of the previous tract, despite the rewording in the title from *an* exhortation to *several* exhortations. This second section first appeared in 1601. To conceal the deception, Vennar apparently gave the 1605-1606 treatise the new title-heading *THE TRVE TESTIMONIE OF A FAITHFVLL SVBIECT*. (The *Short Title Catalogue* records an edition of "[1602?]" with this title. The Huntington Library copy of this tract so listed is, however, actually the 1605-1606 work. There thus seems to be no edition of "1602?" under this title.)

[9] The imprint on the title-page of one issue reads: "LONDON, Imprinted by T. C. and are to be sold by *John Hodgets*, at his shop in Paules Churchyard. 1606." In the other issue, the imprint was simplified to "At London Imprinted. 1606," and a leaf containing a dedicatory poem to Sir Henry Cock, signed "Tho: Dekker," was

And we are not being unjust, of course, in suspecting the integrity of this notorious rascal, who was probably writing *An Apology* while at the nadir of his career: in a debtor's prison.[10]

PHILLIP SHAW

The Yerba Buena Press and Some Related Privately Printed Books

The Yerba Buena Press is an imprint used upon seven books privately printed by Hartley E. Jackson for the author of this Note. He designed each book, set the type and supervised the presswork and the binding. My participation was limited to the selection of the material to be printed, reading the proof and a minor part in the design of the books. All copies were made available to me for distribution, except the miniature edition of Moore's *The Night Before Christmas*, which was printed for sale by Mr. Jackson. It is the only Yerba Buena Press book of which copies were sold.

Lawrence's *Letter to "The Laughing Horse"* is included here because it was produced under the same circumstances as the Yerba Buena Press books, although it does not bear the imprint. Mr. Jackson gave me copy no. 1. The other copies were offered for sale.

The projected edition of Machen's *Letters* was abandoned after the printing of a trial signature and the pulling of galley proofs. The contents were to include sixty-eight letters written by Arthur Machen to Henry Savage (1912-1926). The galley proofs include forty-one of these letters.

The letter of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson printed under the title *How the Boots Got Left Behind* was produced for me by my friend, A. Grove Day. Mr. Day had his own private press, and issued a number of pamphlets under the imprint: The White Knight Press. All the other books were privately printed for me at the Stanford University Press.

With the exceptions noted, *i.e.*, Lawrence's *Letter to "The Laughing Horse"* and Moore's *The Night Before Christmas*, very few of the books included in the following bibliography are in private hands. The only complete set is in my own library.

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added as a cancel. That the latter was for private distribution by the author is the conclusion expressed in *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature 1475-1700*, compiled by W. A. Jackson and Emma V. Unger, [1940], I: 264-265. Leo Kirchenbaum does not question this conclusion; *Author's Copyright in England before 1640*, in: *The* PAPERS *of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XL: 1, 66 (1946).

[10] Attention was drawn to Vennar's plight in my article, *The Position of Thomas Dekker in Jacobean Prison Literature*, in: *PMLA*, LXII: 2, 379 (1947).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1

BLISS CARMAN: 1861-1929 | By JULIAN HAWTHORNE | PALO ALTO [ornament] CALIFORNIA [ornament] 1929.

Size of leaf: 5½ x 8½ inches. Ivory coated paper. Top edge untrimmed, other edges trimmed.

Pagination: [1] title-page; [4] bibliographical note: Twenty copies privately printed for Nathan van Patten. This is no. 1. Reprinted from the San Francisco Chronicle, June 16, 1929; [5, 8-9, 12-13] text; [2-3, 6-7, 10-11, 14-16] blank.

Binding: Ivory coated wrappers. Front cover printed in black: BLISS CARMAN: 1861-1929 | By JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

2

THIS IS A RIGHT MERRY | CHRISTMAS CAROL MADE BY | MASTER GEORGE WITHER [ornament] | 1558-1667 [ornament] AND REVIV'D FOR THE | JOYOVS SEASON NOW AT HAND | WITH ALL GOOD WISHES FROM | MR. & MRS. NATHAN VAN PATTEN | STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFOR- | NIA, MCMXXX [ornaments] | [cut of a Christmas tree]

Size of leaf: 4 x 5¼ inches. Old Stratford laid paper. Top and bottom edges trimmed, fore edge untrimmed.

Pagination: [1-2] half-title, verso blank; [3-4] title-page, verso blank; 5-8, text; 9-[10] text, verso bibliographical note: Privately printed at Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, December mcmxxx; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Terra cotta Georgian laid wrappers. Front cover printed in black: WITHER HIS CHRISTMAS CAROL. Issued in an envelope of the same stock.

The date 1558 in the title should be 1588.

One hundred copies were printed.

3

THE VALLEY | OF THE | SHADOW | EDWIN | ARLINGTON | ROBINSON | [cut of a sailing ship] | YERBA BUENA PRESS | 1930

Size of leaf: 6¼ x 8½ inches Old Stratford laid paper. Top and bottom edges trimmed, fore edge untrimmed. Ivory laid endpapers.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [i-ii] half-title, verso blank; [1-2] title-page, verso blank; 3-6, text; 7-[8] text, verso blank; [9-10] bibliographical note: Of this book twelve copies only have been printed by the Yerba Buena Press, San Francisco. This is no. 1, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW

EDWIN
ARLINGTON
ROBINSON

YERBA BUENA PRESS
1930

Binding: Light blue and yellow marbled paper covered boards, parchment paper spine, lettered in gold: THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW.

Typography by Hartley E. Jackson.

4

A LETTER | FROM | CORNWALL | (January 5, 1916) | D. H. LAWRENCE | [cut of a sailing ship] | YERBA BUENA PRESS | 1931

Size of leaf: 6¾ x 8 inches. Whatman 1926 paper. Top edge trimmed, bottom and fore edges untrimmed. Endpapers of the same stock.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [1-2] half-title, verso frontispiece, portrait of Lawrence tipped in; [3-4] title-page, verso blank; [5-6] note: The original letter here printed is in the Charlotte Ashley Felton Memorial Library, Stanford University, verso blank; [7-10] text; [11-12] bibliographical note: This edition consists of five copies of which this is no. 1, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Green, yellow and white checkered cloth covered boards, parchment paper spine. Front cover: ivory paper label, 3¾ x ½ inches, printed in black: A LETTER FROM CORNWALL.

Typography by Hartley E. Jackson.

"Reprinted" on p. 5 should be "printed." This is the first printing of the letter.

There is a pen and ink decoration in red at the left side of the title-page.

5

LETTERS | OF | ARTHUR | MACHEN | ESQ. | [rule] | YERBA BUENA PRESS | 1931

A trial signature and eight galley proofs. Size of leaf of trial signature: 8 x 11 inches; size of galley proofs: 9 x 25 inches. Trial signature on Whatman paper; galley proofs on ordinary proof paper.

Pagination: Trial signature: [1-2] title-page, verso blank; [3-4] text, verso blank.

The book was never completed.

Typography by Hartley E. Jackson.

Two sets of the trial signature and of the galley proofs were made. One of these is in the Rowfant Club's library, Cleveland, Ohio.

6

THE NIGHT | BEFORE CHRISTMAS | By | C. C. Moore | [ornament] | 1931 | YERBA BUENA | PRESS

Size of leaf: 1⅛ x 1½ inches. Ivory laid paper. All edges trimmed. No endpapers.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [i-ii] half-title, verso blank; [iii-iv] blank, verso frontispiece; [v-vi] title-page, verso blank; [vii-viii] dedication, verso blank; ix-xii,

foreword; xiii-[xiv] foreword, verso blank; xv-xviii, editor's preface; xix-[xx] contents, verso blank; [1-2] half-title, verso blank; 3-38, text; 29-32, index; [33-34] bibliographical note: This book has been edited, set in type, and 250 copies only printed by Hartley Jackson. Woodcut by Edward Farmer, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Brown wrappers. Front cover: a gold panel, lettered in brown within a ruled border: THE NIGHT | BEFORE | CHRISTMAS | [ornament] | MOORE.

7

ON | VISITING | BOOKSHOPS | [rule] | By | CHRISTOPHER MORLEY | [cut of a sailing ship] | YERBA BUENA PRESS | 1931

Size of leaf: 5¾ x 7¾ inches. Buckeye laid paper. Top and bottom edges trimmed, fore edge untrimmed. Terra cotta Georgian endpapers.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [i-ii] half-title, verso blank; [1-2] title-page, verso blank; 3-6, text; 7-[8] text, verso blank; [9-10] bibliographical note: Of this book 60 copies only have been printed by Nathan van Patten for his friends of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco. Copy no. 1, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Blue, red, brown and white marbled paper covered boards, parchment paper spine. Front cover: ivory paper label, 3¼ x 1¼ inches, printed in red: [rule] | ON VISITING BOOKSHOPS | [row of ornaments] | By Christopher Morley | [rule]

Typography by Hartley E. Jackson.

8

THE ROSE GARDEN | By | ARTHUR MACHEN | 1932

Size of leaf: 9½ x 6¼ inches. Buckeye laid paper. Top and bottom edges trimmed, fore edge untrimmed.

Pagination: [1-2] title-page, verso blank; [3-4] text, verso blank; [5-6] text, verso blank; [7-8] blank, verso bibliographical note: Fifty copies privately printed for Nathan van Patten. This is no. 1.

Binding: Rose laid wrappers. Front cover printed in black: THE ROSE GARDEN | By | ARTHUR MACHEN.

9

YOUTH IN THE AIR | A POEM BY BLISS CARMAN | [ornament] | YERBA BUENA PRESS | [cut of a sailing ship] | PALO ALTO: MCMXXXII

Size of leaf: 9 x 12 inches. Plate linweave text paper. Top and fore edges trimmed, bottom edge untrimmed. Ivory endpapers.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [i-ii] half-title, verso blank; [iii-iv] title-page, verso blank; [v-vi] note: The original manuscript of "Youth in the Air" is now in

the Charlotte Ashley Felton Memorial Library, Stanford University, California, verso blank; [1-4] text; [5-6] bibliographical note: Of this book, "Youth in the Air," Twelve copies only have been printed. The type is A. T. F. Bulmer, with Rivoli for accent. Flowers on the title-page from the same foundry. The paper is White Plate Linweave Text. Yerba Buena Press: March, 1932. By Hartley E. Jackson, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Black, grained in gold, cloth covered boards, red linen spine. Front cover: red linen label, 2½ x 4¼ inches, printed in black: YOUTH | IN | THE | AIR | [ornament] CARMAN.

Typography by Hartley E. Jackson.

10

BLISS CARMAN | [rule] | TO A CHICKADEE | (Sierra Madre Mountains, California) | [cut of a sailing ship] | YERBA BUENA PRESS | MCMXXXIII

Size of leaf: 5⅞ x 7¾ inches. Old Stratford laid paper. Top and bottom edges trimmed, fore edge untrimmed.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [1-2] title-page, verso blank; 3-6, text; 7-[8] text, verso blank; [9-10] bibliographical note: Twelve copies printed for private distribution. This is no. 1, verso blank.

Binding: Terra cotta Handcraft wrappers. Front cover: white paper label: 3½ x 1¼ inches, printed in black: BLISS CARMAN | [rule] | TO A CHICKADEE.

Typography by Hartley E. Jackson.

The original manuscript is in the Charlotte Ashley Felton Memorial Library, Stanford University.

11

D. H. LAWRENCE'S | LETTER | to | "THE LAUGHING HORSE" | [ornament] | PRIVATELY PRINTED | 1936

Size of leaf: 7 x 10 inches. Saxon Japan paper. Top and fore edges trimmed, bottom edge untrimmed. Wove endpapers.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [1-2] half-title, verso blank; [3-4] blank; [5-6] title-page, verso blank; [7-10] text; [11-12] text, verso blank; [13-14] bibliographical note: Twelve copies only printed and the type destroyed. This is no. 1, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: White wove paper covered boards, figured gingham spine. Front cover: white paper label, 3½ x 1½ inches, printed in black: D. H. LAWRENCE'S | LETTER | to | "THE LAUGHING HORSE."

Typography by Hartley E. Jackson.

There is a decoration on the title-page in red pencil.

12

A LITTLE CHILD'S PRAYER | By | BLISS CARMAN | Privately Printed | 1939

Size of leaf: 5 x 7¼ inches. Buckeye laid paper. Top and bottom edges trimmed, fore edge untrimmed.

Pagination: 2 blank leaves; [1-2] title-page, verso blank; [3-4] text, verso blank; [5-6] bibliographical note: Four copies privately printed for Albert Bender, Esq., Dr. Lorne Pierce, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, Kt., Dr. Nathan van Patten, November, 1939, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Ivory wove wrappers. Front cover printed in black: A Little Child's Prayer.

The original typescript is in the Charlotte Ashley Felton Memorial Library, Stanford University.

Sir Charles G. D. Roberts paraphrased this little Latin prayer in his *A Child's Prayer at Evening.*

Dr. Pierce's copy is in the Queen's University Library and Mr. Bender's in the Mills College Library.

13

STANZAS | A FRAGMENT | MARCH, 1845 | Elizabeth Barrett Browning | NATHAN VAN PATTEN | STANFORD UNIVERSITY | CALIFORNIA | 1942

Size of leaf: 5½ x 6¼ inches. Cream laid paper. All edges trimmed.

Pagination: [1-2] half-title, verso blank; [3-4] title-page, verso blank; [5-6] text, verso blank; [7-8] bibliographical note: Three copies privately printed, November, 1942, verso blank.

Binding: Slate blue wrappers. Front cover printed in black: STANZAS | A FRAGMENT | MARCH, 1845 | Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

14

HOW THE | BOOTS GOT | LEFT BEHIND | A Letter to Mary from | C. L. DODGSON | "Lewis Carroll" | The WHITE KNIGHT PRESS | 1943

Size of leaf: 4¼ x 6 inches. Cream laid paper. All edges trimmed.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [i-ii] title-page in red and black, verso blank; [1]-2, text, 3-[4] text, verso blank; [5-6] bibliographical note: Twenty-five copies privately printed for Nathan van Patten, Christmas, 1943, verso blank; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Green wrappers. Front cover printed in black: HOW THE | BOOTS GOT | LEFT BEHIND. Back cover has the press device printed in black.

Typography, presswork and binding by A. Grove Day.

The original autograph letter is in the Charlotte Ashley Felton Memorial Library, Stanford University.

15

A LETTER OF | VACHEL LINDSAY | ON THE "MOVIES" | PRIVATELY PRINTED | 1945

Size of leaf: 10½ x 12 inches. Wove paper. All edges trimmed.

Pagination: 1 blank leaf; [1-2] title-page, verso blank; [3-6] text reproduced in facsimile; [7-8] text, verso bibliographical note: Edition limited to 25 copies. Privately printed for Nathan van Patten; 1 blank leaf.

Binding: Green wrappers. Front cover printed in black: A LETTER OF | VACHEL | LINDSAY | ON THE "MOVIES," within a ruled border.

The original autograph letter is in the Charlotte Ashley Felton Memorial Library, Stanford University.

NATHAN VAN PATTEN

Preliminary Short-Title List of Bibliographies Containing Manuscript Notes

The establishing by scholars of bibliographical control over their materials is a problem of great and increasing complexity. Not the least difficult aspect of the problem is that presented by the discovery and the listing of unpublished material. For instance, it is well known that many organizations and even individual scholars maintain bibliographies for their own purposes. Clearly, knowledge of such bibliographies would avoid many wasted hours of effort on the part of workers in similar fields. A still more specialized type of material in this domain is one which is not likely to be looked for or suspected: I refer to specific copies of published bibliographies which have been kept up to date or corrected or otherwise annotated by hand. Obviously, such copies never become known except to an individual scholar who happens to use the particular copy so annotated, since it would not normally occur to a research worker using a given bibliography in a particular library to inspect copies of the same bibliography in other libraries. Therefore, as a modest contribution to this somewhat rarefied problem of bibliographical control, I submit the present preliminary short-title list of such bibliographies containing manuscript notes of some interest as I happen myself to have come across. I hope that others having knowledge of similar bibliographical adversaria will add to the present list.

The titles are set out below in the shortest possible form: fuller particulars can be found in the second edition of my *World Bibliography of Bibliographies*, 1947-1949.*

Allaci, Leone. *Drammaturgia.* Venezia, 1755.
A copy in the British Museum contains ms. additions.

[Ames, Joseph]. *A List of Various Editions of the Bible, and Parts Thereof, in English.* London [1777].

—— [Another edition]. London, 1778.
One of the British Museum copies contains ms. additions by Granville Sharp; in the Bodleian Library is a volume containing copies of both editions with ms. notes and additions by M. C. Tutet, and a copy of the 1778 edition with voluminous ms. notes and additions by Michael Lort.

—— *Typographical Antiquities.* London, 1749.
A copy with ms. notes and additions by M. C. Tutet is in the Cambridge University Library.

——— Considerably augmented . . . by William Herbert. London, 1785-1790.
Copies in the Bodleian Library of this edition and of that entered next below contain ms. notes by Philip Bliss.

——— Greatly enlarged . . . by . . . Thomas Frognall Dibdin. London, 1810-1819.
Copies of the several editions in the British Museum contain copious ms. additions, etc.

Apin, Sigmund Jacob. *Vitae professorvm philosophiae qvi a condita Academia altorfina ad hunc vsque diem clarverunt.* Norimbergae &c., 1728.
A copy in the British Museum contains ms. notes and corrections.

Apollinaire, Guillaume [*pseud.* of Wilhelm Kostrowicki], Fernand Fleuret, and Louis Perceau. *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Paris, 1919.
A typewritten supplement up to 1934, edited by Alfred Rose, is in the British Museum.

A[she], T[homas]. *La Fable al lieur des reports del tresreurend iudge sir Iames Dyer . . . per quel facilment cy troueront toutes choses conteinus in icel.* London, 1588.
A copy containing numerous contemporary ms. notes is in the British Museum.

Bahuinus, Casparus. *Νιναξ theatri botanici.* Basileae Helvet., 1623.
Copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum contain ms. notes, the former by Jacques Barrelier.

* Theodore Besterman, 1904-. *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies and of Bibliographical Catalogues, Calendars, Abstracts, Digests, Indexes and the Like.* 2d ed., rev. and greatly enl. throughout. London, Privately published by the author, 1947-1949.

—— *Opus . . . ad autoris autographum recensitum.* 1671.
Copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum contain ms. notes, the former by Sébastien Vaillant.

Baillet, Adrien. *Jugemens des Sçavans sur les principaux ouvrages des Auteurs.* Paris, 1722.
Part of the first volume, with ms. notes by Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[Baker, David Erskine]. *Biographia Dramatica, or, A companion to the Playhouse.* London, 1782.
One of the British Museum copies contains numerous additions in ms.

Bale, John. *Scriptorvm illustriū maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant: catalogus.* Basileae, 1557-1559.
Bale's own copy, with annotations in his hand, is in the British Museum.

Barbier, Alexandre Antoine. *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes composés, traduits ou publiés en français.* Paris, 1806-1809.
Copies with ms. notes by the author and by Bleuet are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

——— Seconde édition. Paris, 1822-1827.
Copies with ms. notes by the author and others are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[——] *Notice des principaux écrits relatifs à la personne et aux ouvrages de J.-J. Rousseau.* Paris, 1823.
One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes.

Baretti, Giuseppe. *The Italian Library.* London, 1757.
One of the British Museum copies contains ms. notes and additions.

Barrera y Leirado, Cayetano Alberto de la. *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español.* Madrid, 1860.
One of the British Museum copies contains ms. notes by J. R. Chorley.

Bartholinus, Albertus. *De scriptis Danorum.* Hafniae, 1666.
One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes.

[Beaupré, Jean Nicholas]. *Recherches sur les commencements et les progrès de l'imprimerie dans le duché de Lorraine.* Nancy, 1842.
One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes by the author.

Beughem, Cornelius à. *Incunabula typographiae.* Amstelodami, 1688.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains a few ms. notes.

Bianchi, T. X. *Notice sur le premier ouvrage d'anatomie . . . suivi du catalogue des livres turcs, arabes et persanes imprimés à Constantinople.* Paris, 1821.
One of the copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a ms. supplement.
Bibliotheca ecclesiastica. Antverpiae, 1639.
Two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale contain ms. notes and additions.

Biografia degli Italiani illustri nelle scienze, lettere ed arti del secolo XVIII. Venezia, 1835-1845.

A ms. index has been added by William Brenchley Rye to one of the British Museum copies.

Blades, William. *Some Account of the Typography of St. Alban's in the Fifteenth Century.* London, 1860.

The British Museum copy contains ms. notes.

Blanchard, Guillaume. *Table chronologique contenant un recueil en abrégé des ordonnances.* Paris, 1687.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

Blasi, Salvadore Maria di. *Continuazione delle lettere . . . intorno ad alcuni libri di prima stampa . . . seguite da un catalogo di tutti i libri di stampa del XV secolo esistenti nella biblioteca del . . . monastero di s. Martino delle Scale.* (Palermo), [1778].

One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes.

[Boase, Clement]. *Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, and Writings by Certain of Those in the Fellowship of the Apostles since their Restoration in 1835, with an Appendix of the Publications contra 'Irvingism.'* Edinburgh, 1885.

One of the British Museum copies contains numerous additions in ms.

[Bonlini, Giovanni Carlo]. *Le glorie della poesia e della musica contenute nell' esatta notizia de' teatri della città di Venezia e nel catalogo purgatissimo de' drami musicali quivi sin' hora rapresentati.* Padoa, 1731.

The Bibliothèque Nationale copy contains additions in ms.

Borel, Pierre. *Bibliotheca chimica.* Parisiis, 1654.

A copy in the Bodleian Library contains voluminous ms. notes and additions by Elias Ashmole.

Borrichius, Olaus. *Conspectus scriptorum chemicorum illustriorum.* Havniae, 1687.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains an index in ms.

Breu, [S. L.]. *Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke und Handschriften über die Topographie . . . des Elsasses.* [*s.l.*, 1828].

The Bibliothèque Nationale copy contains ms. notes.

Bridgman, Richard Whalley. *A Short View of Legal Bibliography*, 1807.

One of the British Museum copies (now destroyed by enemy action) contained voluminous ms. additions made by the author in preparation for a second edition; and a copy in the Bodleian Library contains a few ms. notes.

Brooke, Sir Robert. *Ascuns nouell cases de les ans et temps le roy, H. & Ed. 6. et la roygne Mary.* London, 1578.

Reprinted in 1587, 1597, 1604, 1625, and perhaps in 1585; the colophon of the 1604 impression is dated 1904 and a copy of this impression in the British Museum contains ms. notes.

BRUNET, J. C. *Manuel du libraire et le l'amateur de livres.* Paris, 1814.
The author's copy, with his ms. notes, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

—— *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques pour servir de supplement au Manuel du Libraire.* Paris, 1834.
A copy containing ms. notes is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

—— Cinquième édition. 1860-1865.
A ms. subject index has been added to a copy of the *Table* in the British Museum.

BRUSHFIELD, T. N. *The Bibliography of the Rev. George Oliver.* London [1885].
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains voluminous ms. notes by the author.

—— *The Bibliography of Sir Walter Raleigh.* Exeter, 1908.
A copy with ms. notes, cuttings, &c., is in the Bodleian Library.

B[URK, P.]. *Vollständiges Verzeichnis aller in Druk gekommen lateinischen und teutschen Schriften des . . . d. Joh. Valentin Andreae.* Tübingen, 1793.
The Bibliothèque Nationale copy contains ms. notes.

[BUTLER, CHARLES]. *Horae biblicæ.* Oxford, 1799.
One of the British Museum copies contains numerous ms. notes by Richard Gough.

Catalogo dell' edizioni del sec. XV esistenti nella biblioteca del duca di Cassano Serra. Napoli, 1807.
The British Museum copy contains a ms. leaf of additions.

Catalogue des Ouvrages de linguistique européenne édités par le prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte . . . 1867-1872. Londres [1873].
A copy of the last part, with additions in ms., is in the Bodleian Library.

Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Oriental Literature, Collected by James Bruce. London, 1842.
A copy containing notes and an index in ms. is in the Bodleian.

CHORLEY, J. R. *Catálogo de comedias y autos de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio.* [*s.l.*, 1861].
Two copies in the British Museum contain voluminous ms. additions by the author.

CLARKE, ADAM. *A Succinct Account of Polyglott Bibles.* Liverpool, 1802.
The author's copy, with his ms. notes, is in the British Museum.

[CLEAVER, WILLIAM]. *A List of Books Intended for the Use of the Younger Clergy.* Oxford, 1791.
The British Museum copy contains a ms. index.

A Compleat Catalogue of All Stitch'd Books and Single Sheets Printed Since the First Discovery of the Popish Plot, (September, 1678) to January 1679/80. 1680.

——— *A Continuation . . . from the 1st of January 1679/80 to the 25th of June 1680.*

——— *A Second Continuation . . . from the 24th of June to Michaelmas Term 1680.*

One of the British Museum copies of the continuations contains additions and prices in ms.

A Complete Catalogue of Modern Books Published from the Beginning of this Century, to the Present Time. London, 1766.

A copy in the Bodleian Library contains numerous additions in ms.

Cotton, Henry. *A List of Editions of the Bible and Parts Thereof in English.* Oxford, 1821.

One of the British Museum copies contains corrections and additions in ms.

[Crowe, William]. *An Exact Collection or Catalogue of our English Writers on the Old and New Testament.* London, 1663.

One of the British Museum copies contains numerous additions in ms.; and a copy in the Bodleian Library contains a few ms. additions by John Watson.

[——] —— *The Catalogue of our English Writers . . . Corrected and Enlarged.* London, 1668.

The British Museum copy contains very numerous additions in ms.

Decanver, H. C. [*pseud.* C. H. Cavender]. *Catalogue of Works in Refutation of Methodism.* New York, 1868.

The author's copy, with his additions in ms., is in the British Museum.

Denis, Ferdinand, P. Pinçon, and [G. F.] de Martonne. *Nouveau Manuel de bibliographie universelle.* Paris, 1857.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. additions.

De Villiers, J. A. J. *Chronological List of Printed Works Bearing upon the Boundary Arbitration between British Guiana and Venezuela.* London, 1897.

The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

[Dibdin, Thomas Frognall]. *Specimen of an English de Bure.* [London, 1810].

A copy in the Cambridge University Library contains voluminous ms. additions by John Britton.

Doering, Heinrich. *Die deutschen Kanzelredner des achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Neustadt, 1830.

A copy in the British Museum contains ms. notes and a ms. index.

[Douglas, James]. *Catalogue editionum Quinti Horatii Flacci.* Londini, 1739.

A copy in the Bodleian Library contains a few ms. notes by Richard Rawlinson.

Draud, Georg. *Bibliotheca classica.* Francofurti, 1625.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

[Dreux du Radier, J. F.]. *Catalogue des Ouvrages imprimés ou manuscrits de m. Dreux du Radier.* Rouen, 1776.

One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes.

[Du Fresnoy, Nicolas Lenglet]. *Histoire de la Philosophie hermétique. Accompagnée d'un catalogue raisonné des écrivains de cette science.* Paris, 1742.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale of the 1742 La Haye issue contains ms. notes by the author.

[Durey de Noinville, Jacques Bernard]. *Dissertation sur les Bibliothèques, avec une table alphabétique, tant des ouvrages publiés sous le titre de Bibliothèques, que des catalogues imprimés de plusieurs cabinets de France & des pays étrangers.* Paris, 1758.

One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes.

[——] *Table alphabétique des dictionnaires, en toutes sortes de langues & sur toutes sortes de sciences & d'arts.* Paris, 1758.

A copy containing many ms. additions is in the British Museum.

[Eames, Wilberforce]. *A List of Editions of Ptolemy's Geography.* New York, 1886.

The British Museum and Bodleian copies contain an explanatory ms. note by the author.

Edizioni delle opere di Dante. [*s.l., c.* 1850].

The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

[Egerton, John]. *The Drama Recorded; or, Barker's List of Plays . . . to 1814.*

A copy in the British Museum contains a few additions in ms.

[Ellis, Sir Henry]. *A Catalogue of Books on Angling.* 1811.

A copy in the British Museum contains numerous ms. notes and additions by William White (of Crickhowell) and Joseph Haslewood.

Fabricius, Johann Albert. *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis.* Patavii, 1754.

A copy with numerous additions in ms. by Barthélemi Mercier de St. Léger is in the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Paris.

[Feales, W.]. *A True and Exact Catalogue of all the Plays and Other Dramatick Pieces, that Were ever yet Printed in the English Tongue.* London, 1732.

The dates of most of the plays in the catalogue are supplied in ms. in a copy in the British Museum.

Ferri, Count Pietro Leopoldo. *Biblioteca femminile italiana.* Padova, 1842.

A copy containing ms. notes is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[Fitzherbert, Anthony]. [Begins:] *Prima pars huius libri* [London, 1516].

A copy containing contemporary ms. notes is in the British Museum.

[Foisy, F. M.]. *Notice des éditions de Publius Syrus.* [Paris, 1835].
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes and additions by the author.

[Foley, Henry]. *Alphabetical Catalogue of Members of the English Province S.J. who Assumed Aliases or By-names.* [*s.l.*], 1875.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. additions.

Foppens, Johannes Franciscus. *Bibliotheca belgica.* Bruxelles, 1739.
One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains and is accompanied by voluminous ms. notes and additions by van den Block.

[François, Jean]. *Bibliothèque générale des écrivains de l'ordre de saint Benoît.* Bouillon, 1777-1778.
In the Bibliothèque Nationale is a copy, with ms. notes by the author, of Barthélemy Mercier de Sainte-Léger's critical review of this book, offprinted from the *Esprit des journaux* (1778), where it was reprinted from the *Journal encyclopédique.*

Frere, Walter Howard. *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica.* [1894-]1901-1932.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. notes.

Garcia de la Huerta, Vicente. *Theatro español . . . Catálogo alphabetica.* Madrid, 1785.
A copy in the British Museum contains voluminous additions in ms.

Gatfield, George. *Guide to Printed Books and Manuscripts Relating to English and Foreign Heraldry and Genealogy.* Paris, 1892.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

[Gay, Jules]. *Bibliographie des principaux ouvrages relatifs à l'amour.* Paris, 1864.
A copy in the British Museum contains ms. additions by Henry Spencer Ashbee.

[Gee, Edward]. *The Catalogue of all the Discourses Published against Popery.* London, 1689.
One of the British Museum copies contains ms. notes and additions.

[Gellé, M. E.]. *Exposé des travaux scientifiques du dr Gellé.* Paris, 1902.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains additions in ms.

A General Abridgment of Cases in Equity . . . By a Gentleman of the Middle temple. London, 1734.
An interleaved copy, with ms. notes by Sir John Strange, is in the British Museum.

[Gérin-Ricard, H. M. E. C. de]. *Histoire et archéologie. Biobibliographie provençale.* Marseille, 1912.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains additions in ms.

GILBERT, H. M. *Bibliotheca hantoniensis.* Southampton, [*c.* 1870].
A ms. note in the Bodleian Library copy states that Sir William Cope, to whom acknowledgements are made in the preface, "was really the compiler of the work."

GILDMEISTER, JOHANN. *Bibliothecae sanskritae sive recensvs librorvm sanskritorvm . . . specimen.* Bonnae ad Rhenvm, 1847.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. notes by Franz Kielhorn and H. G. C.

GINART, NOFRE BARTHOMEU. *Repertori general, y brev svmari per orde alphabetich de totes les materies dels furs de Valencia.* Valencia, 1608.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

[GOUGH, RICHARD]. *British Topography.* London, 1780.
A copy in the Cambridge University Library contains cuttings and ms. additions by John Britton.

[——] *Catalogue of Sarum and York Missals.* [*s.l.*, 1780].
The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

[GRÄBERG, COUNT J.]. *Bibliografia e qualificazioni accademiche di Iacopo Gräberg di Hemsö.* Pisa, 1829.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. additions by the author.

GREENHILL, W. A. *Browne's Religio Medici.* [1883].
A copy with ms. additions is in the Bodleian Library.

[GREGORIE, ARTHUR ?]. *De legibus Angliæ municipalibus liber.*
A copy in the Inner Temple Library contains ms. notes [? by William Petyt].

GREGORY, JULIA. *Catalogue of Early Books on Music (Before 1800).* Washington, 1913.
A copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago, contains ms. notes and additions, together with a record of the holdings of the Newberry Library, Yale University Library, and other libraries.

[GRELLET-BALGUERIE, L. C.]. *Biographie et bibliographie.* Riberac, 1883.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

[GRUDÉ] DE LA CROIX DUMAINE, [FRANÇOIS]. *Premier volume de la Bibliothèque.* Paris, 1584.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

[HAILLANT, N.]. *Ouvrages de m. Nicolas Haillant.* [*s.l.*, 1904].
Three copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale contain ms. notes by the author.

HAIN, LUDWIG. *Repertorium bibliographicum.* Stuttgartiae, &c., 1826-1838.
The copies of Léopold Delisle and Marie Pellechet, with their voluminous ms. notes and additions, are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

HALDEMAN, S. S. *Prodromus. Bibliography of the Chess Knights Tour.* Philadelphia, 1864.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes by the author.

HALLERVORD, JOANNES. *Bibliotheca curiosa.* Regiomonti, &c. 1676.
One of the British Museum copies contains numerous additions in ms.

HAMST, OLPHAR [*pseud.* of RALPH THOMAS]. *Handbook of Fictitious Names.* London, 1868.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains a few ms. notes.

HARRISON, FREDERIC. *Bibliography of Frederic Harrison.* Hawkhurst, 1908.
A copy revised by the author to 1910 is in the British Museum.

[HARRISSE, HENRY]. *Bibliotheca americana vetustissima.* New York, 1866.
The author's copy, containing voluminous ms. notes, is in the Library of Congress.

HARWOOD, EDWARD. *A View of the Various Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics.* 1778.
Two copies with ms. notes and additions are in the Bodleian Library, the notes in one of them being by Bulkeley Bandinel.

—— *Prospetto di varie edizioni degli autori classici.* Venezia, 1780.
Two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale contain ms. notes.

—— *Degli autori classici.* Venezia, 1793.
The British Museum copy contains numerous additions in ms.

HAWES, WILLIAM. *A Compleat Collection of all the Sermons that are Printed.* London [1709].
A copy in the Cambridge University Library contains ms. additions.

HAYN, HUGO, and ALFRED N. GOTENDORF. *Flohlitteratur (de pulicibus) des in- und auslandes.* [*s.l.*,] 1913.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains numerous ms. notes by John Hodgkin.

HEINEMANN, WILLIAM. *An Essay Towards a Bibliography of Marlowe's 'Tragical History of Dr. Faustus.'* London, 1884.
One of the British Museum copies has a note in the author's hand.

HENSLER, CHRISTIAN GOTTHILF. *Codicum Novi testamenti graecorum qui Havniae in Bibliotheca regis adservantur notitia.* Havniae, 1784.
One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes by Jean-Baptiste d'Ansse de Villoison.

HIRSCH, JOHANN CHRISTOPH. *Bibliotheca numismatica.* Norimbergae, 1760.
A copy in the British Museum has numerous ms. additions in a contemporary hand.

HOARE, SIR RICHARD COLT. *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the History and Topography of Italy.* London, 1812.
The copy in the British Museum, to which the collection was presented, contains a ms. list of additions.

Index librorvm qvi ex typographia plantiniana prodiervnt. Antverpiae, 1615.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. additions.

Indice delle edizioni del libro della Imitazione di Christo che sono nella bibliotheca dei pp. Franciscani riformati nel convento di S. Michele in Isola di Venezia. [Venice, 1848].
One of the British Museum copies contains further lists in ms.

[Jacob, Giles]. *The Poetical Register.* London, 1719.
One of the British Museum copies contains numerous ms. notes by Joseph Haslewood, and newspaper cuttings.

[——] —— *An Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of our Most Considerable English Poets.* 1720.
One of the British Museum copies contains numerous ms. notes by Joseph Haslewood, and newspaper cuttings.

Julius, Nikolaus Heinrich. *Bibliotheca germano-glottica.* Hamburg, 1817.
A copy in the British Museum contains numerous additions in ms.

Keller, Augusto de. *Elenchus librorum de apium cultura.* Milano, 1881.
A copy in the John Crerar Library, Chicago, contains additions in ms.

[Kennet, White]. *Bibliothecae americanae primordia.* London, 1713 [1714].
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains some ms. additions by Philip Stubbs.

Kingsford, William. *Canadian Archaeology.* Montreal, 1886.
The title is misleading; this is a survey of sources mainly ms., for Canadian history; a copy in the British Museum contains ms. notes and corrections by the author.

Knapp, William. *Official Editions and Reprints of the Index Librorum Prohibitorum Issued in the Sixteenth Century.* New York, 1880.
A copy containing ms. notes and additions, with special reference to the Bodleian, is in that library.

König, Georg Matthias. *Bibliotheca vetus et nova.* Altdorfi, 1678.
One of the British Museum copies contains voluminous ms. notes.

Krünitz, J. Georg. *Verzeichniss der vornehmsten Schriften von den Kinderpocken und deren Einpfropfung.* Leipzig, 1768.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

Labbé, Philippe. *Aristotelis et Platonis graecorum interpretum typis hactenus editorum brevis conspectus.* Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1657.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes by P. D. Huet.

Ladvocat, [Jean Baptiste]. *Dictionnaire historique portatif contenant l'histoire des patriarches, avec leurs principaux ouvrages et leurs meilleures éditions.* Paris, 1752.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

[Laire, François Xavier]. *Dissertation sur l'origine et les progrès de l'imprimerie en Franche-Comté.* Dole, 1785.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a letter from the author.

—— *Index librorum ab inventa typographia ad annum 1500.* Senonis, 1791.

Copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale contain ms. notes.

Langbaine, Gerard. *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets.* 1689.

Reissued in the same year with a different imprint; the British Museum has several copies of each issue containing voluminous notes and additions in ms., &c.

La Ruë, Pieter de. *Gelettered Zeeland, verdeeld in drie afdeelingen, bevattende in zig de schryvers, geleerden en kunstenaars, uit dien staat geboortig.* Middelburg, 1734.

A copy in the British Museum contains ms. notes.

Leland, John. *Commentarii de scriptoribus britannicis.* Oxonii, 1709.

One of the British Museum copies contains numerous ms. additions, and a copy with ms. annotations is in the Bodleian Library.

Letsome, Sampson. *The Preacher's Assistant.* London, [1753].

One of the British Museum copies contains voluminous additions in ms. by Samuel Ayscough.

Linden, Johannes Antonides Van Der. *Lindenius renovatus, sive, Johannis Antonidae van der Linden de scriptis medicis libri duo.* Norimbergae, 1686.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains very voluminous ms. notes.

Liron, Jean. *Bibliothèque générale des auteurs de France. Livre premier, contenant la bibliothèque chartraine.* Paris, 1719.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes by Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger.

List of Printed Service Books, Belonging to the Rev. T. Lathbury [*s.l., c.* 1845].

The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

A List of Works on Pottery and Porcelain in the National Art Library. London, 1875.

A copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library contains ms. additions by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks.

Llewelyn, Thomas. *An Historical Account of the British and Welsh Versions and Editions of the Bible.* London, 1768.

One of the British Museum copies contains ms. and other additions.

[London, William]. *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England.* London, 1658.

A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. notes.

[Lottin, Augustin Martin]. *Liste chronologique des éditions, des commentaires et des traductions de Salluste.* 1768.

Two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale contain ms. notes, one set being by Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger.

[Lumby, J. L.]. *List of Books (Not Commonly Met With) Relating to the Family of Love.* Cambridge, 1880.

A copy in the Cambridge University Library contains ms. notes by Henry Bradshaw.

Macfarlane, E. M. *Catalogus operum ab illustribus alumnis Collegii B. Mariae Magdalenae in academie Oxoniensi, scriptorum vel editorum.* Oxonii, 1862.

A copy with ms. additions by the author is in the Bodleian Library.

Madan, Falconer. *"The Fight at Dame Europa's School" and the Literature Connected With It.* London, 1882.

The British Museum and Bodleian Library copies contain ms. notes by the author.

Magirus, Tobias. *Eponymologivm criticvm.* Francofurti, &c., 1687.

A copy containing numerous additions in ms. is in the British Museum.

Maittaire, Mich. *Annales typographici.* Hagae Comitum [&c.], 1719-1741.

In the British Museum is a copy of Vol. V with ms. notes by Charles Burney.

[Mantova, Marco Benavidio]. *Epitoma virorum illvstrium qui vel scripserunt vel jurisprudentiam docuerunt in scholis.* Patavii, 1553.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

Marais, Paul, and A. Dufresne de Saint-Léon. *Catalogue des incunables de la Bibliothèque Mazarine.* Paris, 1893.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes by Léopold Delisle.

M[artyni-]L[aguna], J. A. *Epistola ad virvm inclvtvm C. G. Heyne . . . svb tempvs feriarvm semisecvlarivm Almae Georgiae scripta. Exponitur de libris Lucani editis, qui seculo quintodecimo typographorum formulis descripti sunt.* [Dresden, 1787].

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes by Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger.

Maunsell, Andrew. *The First -[Seconde] Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Books . . . Either Written in Our Owne Tongue, or Translated out of anie other Language.* London, 1595.

Titles omitted by Maunsell, chiefly for political and religious reasons, are supplied in ms. in copies in the libraries of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Grolier Club, New York.

[Maupoint]. *Bibliothèque des Théatres.* Paris, 1733.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes by Gueullette and Riccoboni.

MEERMAN, GERARD. *Uitvinding der boekdrukkunst.* Amsterdam, 1767.
The British Museum copy contains numerous additions in ms. and two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale contain ms. notes.

M[ILSAND], P[HILIBERT]. *Catalogue par ordre alphabétique des ouvrages imprimés de Gabriel Peignot.* Paris, 1861.

—— Supplément. 1863.
A copy of both parts in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

[MORTARA, ALEXANDRO E.] *Indice delle edizioni citate dagli accademici della Crusca nel loro vocabolario.* Lucca, 1835.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains that library's pressmarks and other ms. notes by Bulkeley Bandinel.

MOULE, THOMAS. *Bibliotheca heraldica Magnae Britanniæ.* 1822.
The author's working copy containing voluminous ms. additions, is in the British Museum.

[MÜGGE, M. A.]. *An Annotated List of Books Written and Published by M. A. Mügge.* [*s.l.*, 1932].
The British Museum copy contains an addition in ms. by the author.

[NICHOLSON, EDWARD WILLIAMS BYRON]. *A Brief Conspectus of the Cases in the Bodleian Arranged to Illustrate the History of Latin and West European Book-Hands.* [Oxford], 1890.
A copy containing ms. notes is in the Bodleian Library.

NICOLSON, WILLIAM. *The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries.* London, 1736.
One of the British Museum copies contains numerous additions in ms.

OGA, JUKICHI. *A Dante Bibliography in Japan.* Osaka, 1929.
The British Museum copy contains numerous additions in typescript.

[OLDYS, WILLIAM]. *The British Librarian.* London, 1738.
One of the British Museum copies contains ms. notes by Andrew Coltee Ducarel and Alexander Chalmers.

Opere critiche e biografiche intorno a Dante. [*s.l.*, *c.* 1850].
The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

OSMONT, J. B. L. *Dictionnaire typographique, historique et critique des livres rares.* Paris, 1768.
A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes by Jean Joseph Rive.

PALMER, S. *The General History of Printing.* London, 1732.
A copy containing ms. notes is in the Bodleian Library.

PANZER, GEORG WOLFGANG. *Ausführliche Beschreibung der ältesten Augspurgischen ausgaben der Bibel.* Nürnberg, 1780.
A copy containing ms. notes is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

—— *Annales typografici ab artis inventae origine ad annvm M.D.* [&c.]. Norimbergae, 1793-1893.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes and one in the Bodleian Library contains ms. notes and additions by Bulkeley Bandinel.

Percel, Count Gordon de [*pseud.* of Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy]. *Bibliothèque des romans.* Amsterdam, 1734.

A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains ms. notes.

Percheron, A. *Bibliographie entomologique.* Paris, 1837.

A copy containing ms. additions is in the British Museum.

Perez, Cirilo B., and Laureanna Estrella. *Bibliography on Mines and Mining in the Philippines.* Manila, 1934.

A copy in the Library of Congress contains ms. additions.

Phillips, Edward. *Theatrum poetarum anglicanorum.* Canterbury, 1800.

A copy containing voluminous ms. notes by J. P. Collier is in the British Museum.

——— The third edition. Geneva, 1824.

The editor's copy, with a few ms. notes in his hand, is in the British Museum.

Phitakaer, Johannes Gislebertus [*pseud.* of Gabriel Antoine Joseph Hecart]. *Anagrapheana, sive bibliographiae peculiaris librorum ana dictorum, iisque affinium prodromus.* Valencenis, 1821.

—— *Supplementum.* [*c.* 1822].

The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

[Planque, François. *Bibliographia medica.* Paris, 1744.]

The Bibliothèque Nationale copy contains a prefatory note in ms.

[Poulet-Malassis, P. E. A.]. *Bulletin trimestriel des publications défendues en France, imprimées à l'étranger.* [Bruxelles], 1867-1869.

The British Museum copy has a ms. index.

Professor Wilson's Sanskrit Manuscripts, Now Deposited in the Bodleian Library. [Oxford], 1842.

Copies in the Bodleian Library and the Library of Congress contain ms. notes and additions.

Publications officielles périodiques et non périodiques. (Parlement et administrations centrales). Paris, [1924].

A copy in the Library of Congress contains ms. additions.

[Quérard, Joseph Marie]. *Bibliographie voltairienne.* [1842].

Bengesco's copy, with his ms. additions and corrections, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Renouard, Ant. Aug. *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne.* 1837-1838.

Renouard's own copy, showing the changes made for the second edition, is in the British Museum.

[Ribers, David]. *Literary Memoirs of Living Authors of Great Britain . . . Including a List of Their Works.* London, 1798.

A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. notes and cuttings by Thomas Park, and one in the Cambridge University Library has ms. notes by Richard Gough, transcribed by John Bowyer Nichols.

Robert Bellarmino, St. *De scriptoribvs ecclesiasticis liber vnus.* Parisiis, 1658.

One of the Bibliothèque Nationale copies contains ms. notes by Pierre Daniel Huet.

Roeder, Jo. Paul. *Catalogvs librorvm qvi saecvlo XV a.CN. Norimbergae impressi svnt.* [Norimbergae], 1742.

The Bibliothèque Nationale copy contains ms. notes.

Rohr, Julius Bernhard Von. *Physikalische bibliothek.* Leipzig, 1754.

A copy in the British Museum contains ms. additions.

Rotermund, Heinrich Wilhelm. *Verzeichniss von den verschiedenen ausgaben der sämtlichen schriften Philipp Melanchthons.* Bremen, 1814.

The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

Roumejoux, A. de. *Essai de bibliographie périgourdine.* Sauveterre, 1882.

A copy with ms. notes by the author is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Saubert, Johann. *Historia bibliothecae reip. Noribergensis. . . . Accessit . . . catalogus librorum proximis ab inventione annis usq ad a.C. 1500 editorum.* Noribergae, 1643.

One of the British Museum copies contains numerous ms. additions.

Schedule of Wellington House Literature in Spanish. London [1917].

In the British Museum copy many titles have been added in ms.

Schnurrer, Christian Friedrich. *Slavischer Bücherdruck in Würtemberg im 16 Jahrhundert.* Tübingen, 1799.

A copy in the Bodleian Library has a ms. note loosely inserted.

Selected Centuries of Books from the Library of a Priest in the Diocese of Salisbury. 1843.

The British Museum copy contains ms. additions.

[Shiels, Robert]. *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Time of Dean Swift.* London, 1753.

A copy in the British Museum of the original issue contains newspaper cuttings and portraits, together with ms. notes by Isaac Reed and Joseph Haslewood.

[Silvette, Herbert]. *A Short-title List of the Writings of Philemon Holland.* [Charlottesville], Va., 1939.

The Bodleian Library copy contains corrections in ms.

Soave, Moisé. *Dei Soncino, celebri typografi italiani.* Venezia, 1878

The British Museum copy has ms. additions.

[Sparke, Michael]. *A Catalogue of Printed Books Written by William Prynne.* London, 1643.
One of the British Museum copies contains ms. additions.

—— *An Exact Catalogue of All Printed Books and Papers of Various Subjects, Written upon Sundry Occasions by William Prynne.* 1660.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains voluminous ms. notes.

Steele, Robert. *The Earliest English Music Printing.* 1903.
One of the British Museum copies contains ms. additions by the author.

Sutton, Charles William. *A List of Lancashire Authors.* Manchester, 1876.
A copy containing numerous ms. and other additions is in the British Museum.

Theophilus, G. *Catalogus avthorvm omnivm qvi in sacros biblicos libros Veteris & Noui testamenti scripserunt.* Argentorati, 1572.
A copy containing voluminous ms. notes is in the British Museum.

Trew, Christoph Jacob. *Librorvm botanicorvm catalogi dvo.* Norimbergae, 1752.

—— *Catalogus tertivs.* 1757.
The British Museum copy contains ms. corrections by the author.

[Verneuil, John]. *Catalogvs interpretvm s. scriptvrae.* Oxoniæ, 1635.
A copy containing many additions in ms. is in the Bodleian Library.

Vogt, Johann. *Catalogvs historico-criticus librorvm rariorvm.* Hamburgi, 1747.
The British Museum copy contains voluminous additions in ms.

Walpole, Horace, Earl of Oxford. *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, With Lists of their Works.* Strawberry-Hill, 1758.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. notes by William Cole.

——— The second edition. 1759.
A copy in the Bodleian Library contains ms. notes by Michael Lort and Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Harwicke.

Whincop, Thomas. *Scanderbeg: or, Love and liberty. A Tragedy . . . to Which are Added a List . . . of All the Dramatic Pieces Ever Published in the English Language.* London, 1747.
One of the British Museum copies contains numerous ms. additions by Joseph Haslewood, and newspaper cuttings.

Williams, Moses. *Repertorium poeticum.* Londini, 1726.
One of the British Museum copies contains additions in ms.

[Williams, Moses]. *Cofrestr o'r holl lyfrau printiedig gan mwyaf a gyfansoddwyd yn yr iaith Gymraeg.* Llundain, 1717.
The British Museum copy contains additions in ms.

[Wilmotte, Maurice]. *Bibliographie des travaux scientifiques de m. Maurice Wilmotte.* Paris, 1910.

The British Museum copy contains ms. additions.

Winstanley, William. *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets.* London, 1687.

A copy in the British Museum contains ms. notes by Philip Bliss and Joseph Haslewood, transcriptions by the latter of notes by Bishop Percy, and newspaper cuttings.

[Wood, Anthony A.]. *Athenae oxonienses.* Oxford, 1691-1692.

Copies in the Bodleian Library contain ms. notes by John Le Neve, Gilbert Burnet, White Kennett, and others.

——— Second edition. 1721.

Copies in the Bodleian Library contain ms. notes by Thomas Baker and William Cole, Thomas Tanner, Cox Macro, Edmund Malone, Thomas Park, and others.

——— A new [third] edition, with additions, and a continuation by Philip Bliss. London, 1813-1820.

Bliss's working copy, with his ms. corrections and additions, is in the Bodleian Library, together with collections and notes by Peter Whalley, Thomas Baker, and others; of the projected new edition only Vol. I (1848), containing the life of Wood, was published by the Ecclesiastical History Society; proofs, &c., of a second volume are in the Bodleian. For further details of some of these materials see Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* . . . (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905), v.688, nos. 29746-9.

[Zaehnsdorf, Joseph William]. *Catalogue of the Books and Pictures Belonging to the Piscatorial Society.* London, 1902.

The copy in the British Museum contains supplementary entries.

Zeno, Pietro Angelo. Memoria de scrittori veneti patritii ecclesiastici, & secolari. Venezia, 1744.

A copy in the British Museum contains voluminous ms. notes.

Theodore Besterman

Book Reviews

Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume I (for 1948-1949). Charlottesville, Virginia, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1948. 204 pp., 2 leaves; 4 figures. 10 x 6⅞ inches. Edition of 1000 copies. $3.50.

It is indeed a pleasure to welcome to the world of books this new bibliographical journal which, one regretfully anticipates, will doubtless become known as PBSUVa—in the best (or worst) traditions of Washington (D. C.). This new series, with Professor Fredson Bowers as Editor, has certainly made a most auspicious beginning; physically the volume under review merits the highest praise not only for the excellence of its typography but also for the very superior quality of its paper.

Volume I of these *Papers* contains eleven articles and six shorter notes by a well-balanced list of authors, including besides such distinguished bibliographers as Dawson, McManaway, and Bowers younger—and obviously promising—newcomers, for example Philip Williams and James Steck. In the space available to this reviewer, it will not be possible to discuss each contribution, but one can single out a few for special attention. In view of the sponsoring institution, it is only right and proper that the first two papers (by Professor Joseph Carrière and Dr. Jessie Lucke) should be devoted to *Mr.* Jefferson. Several of the contributions concern themselves with printing-house procedure, a field of investigation in which Editor Bowers has done so much excellent spadework. Among such studies may be listed Professor Allan Stevenson's article on the uses of watermarks in bibliographical research (where much remains to be done) and discussions of the importance of center rules and boxlines for the investigator by Messrs. Guy Battle and James Steck. An excellent paper by Professor George Pace deals with the textual problems of one of the minor Chaucerian poems; it is good to see manuscript studies included in this volume of bibliographical essays.

The clever spotting of three Shakespearean piracies by Giles E. Dawson requires a special note of commendation. This reviewer, however, wishes that Dr. Dawson had seen fit to include a few specific clews which

might make it possible for one to distinguish the piracy from the original at a glance. Such details as cruder workmanship in the blocks are quite satisfactory in a side-by-side comparison but not so useful when one has only one edition in hand. Details of spacing and alignment might provide the necessary hints. From the pen of another distinguished member of the Folger staff, Dr. James G. McManaway, we have an account of the newly found (or rather refound) second edition of the translation by George Sandys of the *First Five Bookes of Ovid's Metamorphosis;* this paper effectively supersedes the one printed in our own PAPERS in 1941 (XXXV: 255-276).

It is, of course, a great deal easier to criticize a badly written or proof-read volume than such an excellent piece of work as the present one. Just one "littlc" misprint came to this reviewer's attention. However, I should like to take this opportunity to enter a bit of special pleading for my own particular field of interest. It is self-evident that incunabulists have much to learn from the techniques employed by their colleagues specializing in *STC* books (especially in those methods initiated by the Bowersian school) but it is too often overlooked that the contrary is equally true. I find that many bibliographers of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods seem to know all too little about the procedures in the field of fifteenth-century books. For example, Dziatzko, Schwenke, Zedler and others have made use, for the past half century, of the watermarks in the early Mainz books to determine the number of presses employed and the probable size of the editions; it can hardly be said, then, that Professor Stevenson's article, however important and interesting his findings unquestionably are, presents entirely "new" uses for watermarks. Again, there are frequent discussions (the problem is referred to in this volume also) as to the compositor's ability to stay ahead of the pressmen. Early records provide a satisfactory answer for this question. In the Accurti "Festschrift" of 1947, there is printed a fifteenth-century contract which stipulates that two Milanese compositors were to compose, correct, and distribute each working day four large folio pages of two columns and fifty-two lines each. This would seem to be a great deal more text than could possibly be included on two seventeenth-century quarto sheets, each of which—we are told—would require a day and a half to print. Surely a Caroline compositor was as skillful as his fifteenth-century predecessor. The correspondence of the Kobergers, the contracts and accounts of the Accademia Veneziana, the day book of the Ripoli press, etc., offer many facts to support (or contradict) inferential hypotheses. I am of the firm conviction that the seventeenth-century bibliog-

rapher might do well to study some of the earlier historical documents relating to the art of printing.

It has been suggested to me that, since a paper of my own is included in the present volume, it might not be quite proper for me to review this issue. In view of these circumstances, I did indeed—for almost ten seconds—consider declining to write the review, but the excellence of the papers (I speak, naturally, without reference to the one found on pages 123-132) made me risk this possible breach of good taste. Indeed there may be advantages in these special conditions since I can testify, not only as a contributor but also as a very minor assistant in regard to another paper, to the great care exercised by the editorial board. It is not too much to say that Professor Bowers virtually rewrote a whole section of my own contribution. And lastly even as one "taken to task" I can appreciate the value of these *Papers*—since my own views of the manuscripts of Chaucer's *Purse* have been shown (quite properly, I dare say) to be at fault. It is indeed a pleasure to note that, in matters of literary criticism and divergent scholarly opinion, the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia is anything but cavalier.

CURT F. BÜHLER

Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies. Edited by James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson [and] Edwin E. Willoughby. Washington, The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948. x, 608 pp. 6⅛ x 9¼ inches. $10.00.

This handsome, if somewhat bulky, volume is an unusually rich *Festschrift*, gathered together in honor of one of the most distinguished and urbane Elizabethan scholars of our time. "Rarely is a man blessed," writes Dr. McManaway in his preface to these studies,

> as was Dr. Adams, with the capacity and good fortune to win equal renown as a teacher, as a productive scholar, and as an administrator. His students love to talk of his stimulating lectures, of the wide range of his learning, of his keen insight, and, above all, of the rich personality which revealed itself equally in the patient direction of a dissertation and in the interpretation of literature.

The impressive list of scholarly and bibliographical books and articles, mainly on Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, which is placed at the head of the essays in this book, is ample attestation to Dr. Adams' scholarly industry. They begin in 1904, and in the mere listing occupy eight full pages.

His stewardship as Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library will be found modestly set forth in the only report of that institution issued so far.

Of the present volume it is a matter for regret that it is of necessity a memorial volume and not a tribute which Dr. Adams himself lived to see. He would have enjoyed this testimony of his friends, revelled in its variety, and in his kindly mellow manner discussed some of the issues with its contributors. Of the fifty-three articles which make up the text of the book, half are on some aspect of Shakespearean study—problems of technique, interpretation of character or situation in the plays, source study, stage history, criticism, or bibliography. The remainder treat of some other author or phase of the English Renaissance. The resulting collection of papers is a truly scholarly galaxy.

Obviously, in a brief review of this kind it will be possible to mention only a few of the numerous studies which make up this book's content. Among the problems of Shakespeare's dramatic technique which are discussed, mention may be made of Professor Hereward T. Price's paper on "Mirror Scenes in Shakespeare," *i.e.*, those scenes, often loose and detachable, which Shakespeare customarily introduces into his plays, and which reflect in one picture either the main theme or some important aspect of the drama, intensifying the mood, yet adding nothing to the action. On the basis of the presence of such scenes in *Titus Andronicus*, Professor Price argues for Shakespeare's authorship. Professor M. A. Shaaber of the University of Pennsylvania argues against the assumption, most recently expounded by Professor J. Dover Wilson and Dr. E. M. W. Tillyard, that the *Henry IV* plays are a structural unity.

Scholarly interpretation and criticism also find their place in the volume. Professor Donald J. McGinn of Rutgers University in "The Precise Angelo" of *Measure for Measure*, finds the character an exemplification of the precisian or hypocritical Puritan, and the whole play a defense of Christian charity against the intolerance of the Puritans, a contrast of the Old Law and the New, Puritanism *vs.* the Old Faith, in which Shakespeare's sympathy with Roman Catholic institutions and ideas enabled him to understand Isabella's refusal to sacrifice her honor in order to save her brother's life. In turn Professor Elkin C. Wilson of New York University studies the character of "Shakespeare's Enobarbus" and the part he plays in *Antony and Cleopatra*, explaining his death as the heartbreak of a man to whom self-respecting thought is life, and dishonored thought, literally, death. Professor Oscar James Campbell of Columbia University discusses "Shakespeare and the 'New' Critics," *i.e.*, those who "by an in-

tensive analysis of such imagery as [their] special insight and sensitivity may designate as crucial, will be able to discover in a play a certain inner imaginative structure that has hitherto been unrecognized." As examples he cites T. S. Eliot, John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Cleanth Brooks, and Robert Penn Warren, and argues against their search for symbolism in Shakespeare's use of images, by pointing out that "Shakespeare employed images for two purposes, both dramatic. He made his figurative language intensify an auditor's response to particular situations and also used it to create and individualize his characters." In "The Knocking at the Gate in *Macbeth:* An Essay in Interpretation," Professor John Webster Spargo of Northwestern University frees the passage from the Romantics and recognizes in it a tradition as old as Horace of the dreadful summons of Death.

In the field of source study, Professor Francis R. Johnson of Stanford University, basing upon recent investigation of Shakespeare's knowledge of the classics, reëxamines Shakespeare's debt to the *Tragedies* of Seneca and finds many instances in Shakespeare's poetic imagery of Senecan imitation, or more exactly, of imaginatively creative transmutations of Senecan thought. Professor Matthew Wilson Black of the University of Pennsylvania rejects Professor J. Dover Wilson's hypothesis of an "old play" now lost which Shakespeare revised in writing *Richard II.* Instead, the relation of Shakespeare's play to Holinshed, Hall, the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux Roy Dengle-terre,* as well as Jean Créton's *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre Richard II,* seems more in keeping with Shakespeare's usual custom of wide and diverse reading than with the tempting theory of a "lost" play, for the existence of which no external evidence is to be found. Professor Willard Farnham of the University of California analyzes "The Medieval Comic Spirit in the English Renaissance" and relates Shakespeare to it. And Professor Theodore Spencer describes "The Elizabethan Malcontent" and finds that he is a product of the age, which was far from the optimistic era it has been described. In addition Professor Hardon Craig of the University of North Carolina discusses "Shakespeare and the History Play," and Mr. John Elson offers some "Studies in the *King John* Plays."

On the subject of stage history there are several papers. Professor George F. Reynolds of the University of Colorado discusses "*Troilus and Cressida* on the Elizabethan Stage" on the medieval principle of simultaneity and symbolic presentation. Dr. John Cranford Adams of Hofstra College takes up scene by scene "The Original Staging of *King Lear.*"

Professor George Coffin Taylor of the University of North Carolina raises the question "Did Shakespeare, Actor, Improvise in *Every Man in His Humour?*" and answers it in the affirmative. And in a later period, Professor George Winchester Stone of George Washington University in a paper entitled "The God of His Idolatry" considers David Garrick's theory of acting and dramatic composition and finds Shakespearean influence.

Of the papers which are on strictly bibliographical subjects, several deserve mention. Professor Charlton Hinman of Johns Hopkins University discusses "The 'Copy' for the Second Quarto of *Othello*," (1630), and rejects it as having any independent textual authority. Professor Albert Howard Carter of the University of Arkansas studies "The Punctuation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* of 1609," and concludes that there is a system of punctuation here, though the system is somewhat ambiguous, that the pointing in large measure reflects the progress of the thought as well as marks off the units of verse, and that deviation from the system by chance is slight. But whose punctuation the book represents—Shakespeare's, the manuscript copyist's, an editor's, the compositor's, or a proofreader's—the author leaves to other speculation. Professor Fredson Bowers of the University of Virginia reconstructs the method of "Elizabethan Proofing," arguing that there were only two general methods of proofing, one for one-skeleton books and one for two-skeleton books, and that the normal printing method was that with two skeletons, one forme being corrected while the second was made ready. Under title of "The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books," Professor William A. Jackson of Harvard gives an account of the famous "Lamport Find" of old volumes in 1867, together with a finding list of the surviving volumes which passed from the Lamport Hall collection to the Britwell Court library (1893). Professor Franklin B. Williams, Jr., of Georgetown University considers "Scholarly Publication in Shakespeare's Day" and the distribution of learned books as illustrated by the fortunes of John Minsheu's polyglot dictionary, *The Guide Into the Tongues* (1617), and existing documents which make it possible to reconstruct Minsheu's promotion methods in producing and disposing of his book, and he reëxamines Minsheu's claim to be the first publisher by subscription. In addition, as evidence of Elizabethan taste and poetic endeavor, Mr. William H. Bond of the Houghton Library, Harvard, reprints the poems of unknown John Bentley in the Cornwallis-Lysons Manuscript, a poetical miscellany now Folger MS. 1.112; and Professor Thomas P. Harrison, Jr., of the University of Texas describes "The Folger *Secret of Secrets*,

1572," a copy of an edition of this fifteenth-century translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* not listed in the *Short Title Catalogue*, and discusses the importance of this work in Elizabethan thought.

Enough has been said of the variety of Shakespearean scholarship which the Adams volume contains. In addition there are essays on non-Shakespearean subjects: on "Sixteenth Century English Devotional Literature," by Professor Helen C. White of the University of Wisconsin; on psychological fiction "Before *Euphues*" by Professor George B. Parks of Queens College; on "Elizabethan Military Books," by Colonel Thomas M. Spaulding; on "Two Late Dramatic Versions of the Slandered Bride Theme" [the anonymous *Partial Law*, *ca.* 1605-1630, and Robert Jephson's *Law of Lombardy*, 1779] by Professor T. M. Parrott of Princeton; on "George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, and Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth," by Professor Charles T. Prouty of Yale; on "The Humanism of Gabriel Harvey," by Professor H. S. Wilson of the University of Toronto; on "A Topical Reference in *The Alchemist*" by Professor C. J. Sisson of the University of London; and on "Old Style—New Style" by Dr. W. W. Greg. Considerations of space do not permit the mention of others.

With commendable but regrettable modesty, Dr. Adams' colleagues at the Folger have denied themselves space in the volume in order that other contributions might not be excluded.

All volumes of essays and studies in honor of great scholars are necessarily miscellaneous, and all are a little melancholy. They pay respect to a full life which is over and to an achievement to which death has written an inexorable finis. In this case the tribute is as rich as was the life it commemorates.

> He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
> Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading; . . .
> [And] to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.

These words from *Henry VIII* open Stanley King's account of Joseph Quincy Adams, and they fit him better than they did the great Cardinal of whom they were originally written.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

FARQUHAR, FRANCIS P. *Yosemite, The Big Trees, and the High Sierra. A Selective Bibliography*. Berkeley, University of California Press; London, Cambridge University Press, 1948. xii, 104 pp. Portraits, facsimiles. 7⅝ x 10⅞ inches. $7.50.

The years 1948 to 1950 inclusive constitute California's centenary period, marked by the centennials of the discovery of gold, the Gold Rush, and the admission of the state to the Union. One consequence of this has been a spate of books dealing with every possible aspect of California's history, topography, and characteristics.

It is appropriate that bibliography also should have its representative among these volumes, and Francis P. Farquhar is the natural person to whom to look for it. He is both mountain climber and historian, possessor of probably the most complete private library on the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast, twice president of the Sierra Club, and unquestionably the greatest living authority on the Sierra Nevada and its history.

The present volume is deliberately limited both as to subject and to scope. It deals specifically with early works on the *Sequoia gigantea* in its natural habitat in the High Sierra, and with those describing or reporting on Yosemite Valley from 1868 to 1915. Technical works on geology, botany, and natural history as such have been purposely omitted. Within these limits Farquhar has restricted himself to twenty-five titles—though cross-references bring in the mention of many more. His criteria have been two—"unusual character and important contents." To these criteria may be added that of rarity (though there are editions still in print of Clarence King's *Mountaineering in the High Sierra* and of Zenas Leonard's *Narrative*, at least).

In form these source materials range from advertising pamphlets for exhibitions of reconstructed *Sequoias* or sections of them (*The Great California Tree*, New York, 1854; *Mammoth Tree at Crystal Palace*, London, 1857; William's *Mammoth Trees*, Boston, 1871), through guide books (Whitney's *Yosemite Book*, New York, 1868; Hittell's *Yosemite Guide Book*, San Francisco, 1868), to the official reports of the Yosemite Valley Commissioners and the superintendents of Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks. They include little-known works by Clarence King, Joseph LeConte, David Starr Jordan, John Muir, and Stewart Edward White. They include also a few curiosa—the romantic novel, *Zanita* (1872), (in which Muir appears as the hero, "Kenmuir"), by the notorious Therese Yelverton, and *The Conquest of Mount Whitney* (1931), by Shuki Nakamura, "dedicated to the cause of Japanese Alpinism."

Originally Farquhar collected this list merely "to provide accurate descriptions of the more important source materials for a history of Yosemite, the Big Trees, and the High Sierra." As the work progressed, he found it desirable to add "notes on the origin of the various books and pamphlets and . . . comments on significant portions of their contents." The happy result is a book of value not only to bibliographers and book collectors, but to all those interested in the history of the Sierra Nevada region.

These latter will, of course, search the contents of more modern, more inclusive, and more accessible books on the subject—not the least of which is Farquhar's own *Place Names of the High Sierra*. Specialists in this field will miss mention of works dealing with points of particular interest to them (*e.g.*, Sequioa National Park). But within its self-set limitations, no more useful, informative, and interesting book of its nature has thus far been published; and so far as I, with a layman's knowledge, can ascertain, this is the first entry of the High Sierra into the bibliographical arena.

MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD

Catálogo de incunables de la Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco. Compilado, con introducción y notas, por Lorna Lavery Stafford. Prólogo de José Cornejo Franco. Con 39 illustraciones. Mexico, 1948. xxii p., 3 l., p. (1)-(3), 4-66, 1 l.

This is an outstanding contribution to Mexican bibliography and scholarship as noteworthy for accuracy and clearness of text as it is admirable and noteworthy for the taste and charm of design, choice of type face, and general ideals of manufacture.

Mr. and Mrs. Stafford lived in Guadalajara in 1938-1941 and came to know the scholarly librarian of the State Library of Jalisco, Sr. José Cornejo Franco. In that same time Mrs. Stafford came to recognize the promise of material for research stored on the shelves of the library and to see the need of help to start technical reorganization. As her contribution to demonstration of the first point, she catalogued the fifteenth-century books in the Library. On the second point, she led the Rockefeller Foundation to help by getting the American Library Association to send a trained and competent cataloguer to begin the work and set the ideals for continuation.

Since leaving Guadalajara Mrs. Stafford has put seven years into the difficult task of long-distance research, and into the equally difficult task

of seeing the results put into shape. The results before us show it was time well spent in cultivation of a fruitful field.

Sr. Cornejo Franco sketches the history of the Library in his prologue; Mrs. Stafford takes the development of printing as the theme for her short introduction. She then lists in detail fifteen works ranging from the *Opuscula* of St. Augustine printed at Venice by Andreas de Bonetis in 1484 to Petrus de Costana's *Super decalogo* done at Salamanca in 1500. Venice shows five printers, Salamanca two, Seville, Lyons, Pavia, Strasburg one each, and one title lacks place, date, and name of printer.

It is no surprise to note that most titles are theological. Duns Scotus with his *Super uniuersalibus Porphyrii* and Petrus Tataretus with his *Super summulas Petri Hyspani* and *Super textu logices Aristotelis* rate as philosophy, though in those days there was little difference between theology and philosophy. John Holywood (perhaps better known by the Sacrobusto translation of the family name) gives the sole piece outside the sacred fold by his *Sphaera mundi.* The single Bible here noted came from Venice, where Hieronymus de Paganinis put it forth in 1497.

One piece is apparently unique in the western world, the *Via paradisi* ascribed to Magister Petrus as author and to the printer of Nebrissensis' *Gramatica* working in Salamanca about 1498. The Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico has copies of Augustine, of the Bible, of Eusebius' *De evangelica præparatione* (Venice, Bernardinus Benalius, 1497).

Beside the minute collation, a further help in checking and identifying copies is given by the facsimile reproductions of the title (or other significant) page and colophon. Reproduction of printers' marks and of ownership brands burned into top and fore edges add further interest. The colophon gives Imprenta Nuevo Mundo credit for the printing, but there is no note of size of edition, nor of seller or distributor.

Mexican bibliography has much to its credit with the work of José Beristain y Souza and Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Then came José Toribio Medina with his eight volumes of *La imprenta en Mexico* (Santiago de Chile, 1908-1912), with Emilio Valton following in 1935 with his *Impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI* (Mexico), and Nicolas Léon with his supplement to García Icazbalceta, and then *La imprenta en Mexico, 1594-1820* by Francisco González de Cossío (Mexico, 1947), who notes two additions for the sixteenth-century titles cited by Toribio Medina. All very worthy. And an equally worthy addition to the honorable roll is now given by Mrs. Stafford.

All her predecessors, however, were content to give the traditional

title and collation, leaving to the student the instructive but now and then time-consuming task of locating the book he wants. Times have changed, however, even in bibliography, and nowadays we count on location of copies as well as description.

Mrs. Stafford's noteworthy achievement leads to earnest hope that somewhere, sometime, some means may be found for extending this kind of study and help to research into other parts of the republic. Rich pay dirt surely waits for the prospector.

We have heard much of late about the wisdom of extending to other lands some of the technical skills current in the United States. I fear I failed to hear it if the proposal planned to include cultural interests. Tools like the *Census of Fifteenth Century Books* or the union lists of serials and similar publications would help mightily in furthering mutual studies of cultures the wide world over.

One of the hopes felt when the Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin was started in Mexico looked towards some such studies of the riches of regional libraries and church archives. Sad failure, lamentable and distressing as some of the staff looked at it, must be set against that hope. Now that the Department of State has taken over from the American Library Association the care and cultivation of the library, let us hope we may see it springing forward eagerly and avidly to some such thoroughly creditable end and aim.

The historians of Mexico and the United States meet in conference in Monterrey later in this year. Is it thinkable or possible that then and there some imaginative and forward-looking soul may set forth the history of ideas as expressed in the books owned as well as printed in a given country at a given time as a proper field for survey and attention by Clio?

H. M. Lydenberg

Shipton, Clifford K. *Isaiah Thomas, Printer, Patriot and Philanthropist, 1749-1831.* Rochester, New York, The Printing House of Leo Hart, 1948. xii, 94 pp. 23 plates. 9 x 6 inches. $5.00. (The Printers' Valhalla Series, no. 2.)

Isaiah Thomas would enjoy reading this book if he had a copy up in the Printers' Valhalla, for it was written "for those who love the smell of printers' ink," and he would also enjoy it because he could appreciate good writing and a finely printed volume and also because he was fond

of the subject. There are other longer and more detailed studies of the life of Thomas but none does him so much justice as a printer, and besides, as the author tells us, this compact and modest volume "contains about one-third new material."

The author was fortunately placed to write this biography for, as Librarian of Thomas' American Antiquarian Society, he had at his elbow the voluminous personal and business papers of his subject as well as a virtually complete collection of the newspapers, books, pamphlets, periodicals, and broadsides printed by Thomas. He had other advantages, too, and these he brought with him when he came to administer the greatest of all American history libraries which Thomas had founded in 1812. They include a remarkable knowledge and appreciation of the New England historical background of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, unusual skill and experience in the writing of biography in this period, and an ability to write with understanding, appreciation, charm, and sparkle. And he was also fortunate in having the advice of his boss, Clarence S. Brigham, "who knows more about these matters than anyone since Thomas himself," and the wise counsel of George Parker Winship, general editor of the series, *The Printers' Valhalla*, of which this work forms the second volume.

The author was also fortunate in his publisher, who is a very fine printer of beautiful books as you will see from a glance at this attractive volume. Much of his appreciation of the best in book printing and the original idea for this series of biographies of great printers came from the lectures and personal inspiration which he received from his old Harvard teacher, George Parker Winship, the editor of the series. This handsomely printed, neat, and attractive volume contains twenty-three photogravure illustrations including an excellent portrait of Thomas, a photograph of the printing press on which he learned to print, a picture of the Thomas paper mill, and facsimiles of some of the most famous title-pages and other publications from his press. There is also an appendix showing a section of "Isaiah Thomas's Account of Stock, 1796," which inventories the presses, printing materials, types, and cuts for use in his many attractive children's books, each item with its appraised valuation—a record of the greatest interest to the present-day printer with a taste for the history of his craft. A good index adds to the reference value of the volume. It is hard to find anything the matter with this well-printed book, but there are three curious errors of no great importance in the list of illustrations. In one of them the title states that the facsimile title-page of *Mother Goose's Melody* on

page 47 is "reduced from 2½ x 4" inches when, as a matter of fact, it is enlarged from that size to 3⅛ x 6¼ inches.

It was indeed fitting to select Isaiah Thomas as the subject for the second volume of this series of essays on famous printers. Mr. Shipton calls him "the father of the modern American printing and publishing business," and we realize that this is so when we remember that he was not only a successful newspaper, magazine, and almanac publisher, but had the largest book-publishing business in America up to his time. His printing plant in Worcester employed one hundred and fifty people and included seven presses, a paper mill, and a book bindery. He had set up many of his former apprentices in other towns where they operated presses and bookstores in partnership with Thomas, including at least eight shops from Portsmouth to Baltimore and as far west as Albany. He printed hundreds of thousands of copies of over four hundred titles, including over one hundred juveniles in which field he was pre-eminent in his day. The list of Thomas "firsts" is impressive and includes the first American folio Bible in English, the first American written and published Greek grammar, the first dictionary printed in America, the first American novel, the first history of printing in America, of which he was the author, the first American edition of *Mother Goose's Melody*—and he was the first to make extensive use of musical types in this country. He reprinted the best English literature, children's books, and the standard works in the professions as well as a flood of textbooks, including 300,000 copies of Perry's spelling book.

Isaiah Thomas was the first printer in Worcester and the town's first postmaster, the first man in Massachusetts to read the Declaration of Independence to a public gathering, first master of the first Masonic lodge in Worcester and later master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. He was a personal friend of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Hancock, and the Adamses and most of the other great men of his day. Two colleges honored him with advanced degrees and he was a member of the leading learned societies. His was the largest private library of American history assembled up to that time, and it was the nucleus of the great collection of the American Antiquarian Society of which he was the founder. He gave extensive collections of books to college and public libraries, interested himself in the education of printers and in many local philanthropies. Though he had been a fiery patriot during the Revolution, published the leading patriot paper in Massachusetts, fought at Lexington and Concord, and wrote and published the first account of those engagements, he took no active part in politics in later life and never sought political office. From

this brief outline it is evident that he has a rightful place in the Printers' Valhalla, and fittingly have his achievements been recorded in it.

R. W. G. Vail

Swan, Bradford F. *Gregory Dexter of London and New England 1610-1700.* [Device] Rochester, New York, The Printing House of Leo Hart, 1949. xvi, 115 pp. Facsimiles. 9 x 6 inches. $5.00. (The Printers' Valhalla Series, no. 3.)

It is the first half of this attractively printed little book which is presumably of interest to readers of the Papers, for in it Mr. Swan sketches for the first time the career of an obscure London printer, listing a total of eighty-two works in the making of which Gregory Dexter had a hand from about 1637 to about 1644. Mr. Swan does not tabulate, but fifty-seven of these he found in the printed catalogue of the Thomason Tracts, ten he found elsewhere, four others he found referred to in records but could not locate in libraries, and another eleven he claims to have identified as Dexter's work on typographical evidence. Unfortunately, neither Swan's methods nor his many inferences inspire much confidence. He mentions these eighty-two titles in the course of an attempted narrative, sometimes giving adequate bibliographical data, sometimes not; sometimes explaining how he identifies Dexter's work by ornaments or typography (pages 19, 23, 39, 47-50, 115), and sometimes not (pages 19-20, 22-23, 30). He does not tell us things about Dexter that he could have learned from sources actually used, *e.g.*, that Thomas Newcomb was Dexter's apprentice from 8 November 1641. And if he had read an article in *The Library* (March 1936, pages 435-438), he could not only have reported the interesting fact that Dexter was the printer of John Milton's *Animadversions* (1641) but have added a dozen other titles to his list of Dexter's products identifiable by ornaments. In apology for bibliographical deficiencies the author explains that his book was "written under wartime conditions, when access to British collections was virtually impossible." It is a pity that the investigation was not carried further in peaceful times.

Although this pleasantly written monograph is of slight value to bibliographers, it contains a few hints or clues possibly worth thorough study, *e.g.*, the hint (pages 23-24) that Oulton and Dexter might have been involved in the Coleman Street Press, and the tantalizing clues adduced (pages 59-62) that Dexter assisted in the printing of a 1646 almanac by

the Cambridge Press. Swan's *pièce de résistance* is an elaborate argument for Dexter as the printer of Roger Williams' *Bloody Tenent* (1644), but even this, together with the evidence offered for Dexter's part in three other anonymously printed tracts of 1644, will not stand up under scrutiny. If we accept Swan's statements that ornaments or type used by Dexter occur in these four works, there remain two unanswered questions: (1) Who eventually acquired Dexter's type and ornaments, and (2) when, exactly, did Dexter stop printing and leave London for America?

Swan's attempt to show "conclusively" that Dexter was not in Providence "before the Autumn of 1644" (pages 54-59)—an attempt important to any demonstration that Dexter could have printed tracts by Williams and others in London during early 1644—is utterly unconvincing. He confuses both himself and his reader by quite unnecessary refutation of writers who would put Dexter in Providence *before 1643*, offers no answer to the three early writers (including Dexter's great-great-grandson) who state clearly that Dexter "came to Providence in 1643," and even begs the question by declaring (page 57) that "Dexter's books, especially those anonymously printed pamphlets which I have traced to his press, are evidence that he was in London, pursuing his trade, well into 1644." What is actually demonstrated is that Dexter's partnership with Oulton ended about June of 1643, that Dexter printed alone from July to October or November of this year, and that no books printed after November bear Dexter's name or initials in the imprints. Swan also points out that the first part of *Church-government and church-covenant discussed* (dated 15 June 1643 by Thomason) was printed by Oulton and Dexter, but that the second and third parts of this work were printed by Thomas Paine and Matthew Simmons. This reviewer suspects that further investigation would show that Paine and Simmons eventually acquired the type and ornaments owned by Dexter. To anyone interested in the search I offer the facts that Paine and Simmons printed the first edition of Milton's *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643), and that a broken, easily recognized factotum used on pages 1 and 31 of the anonymously printed second edition (1644), and again in the third edition (1645), occurs also in two tracts by Roger Williams, *Mr. Cottons letter lately printed* and *Queries of highest consideration* (1644), both identified by Swan as Dexter's printing (pages 48-50) on the evidence of other decorations. (Incidentally, an *unbroken* version of this same factotum was being used by Leonard Lichfield of Oxford in 1643; see page 1 of *A forme of common prayer*.)

The second half of Swan's book is an entertaining commentary on the surviving records of Dexter as an influential figure in the Rhode Island colony. This bit of local history offers glimpses of Dexter treating with the Indians, testifying to the drunkenness of a good friend, annoying Roger Williams by ignoring the legal subtleties of the Chasmore case, attending a constitutional convention, presiding at an important trial, serving as town clerk of Providence (1648-1655) and as President of Providence Plantations (1653), and becoming minister of the First Baptist Church of the little community in which he spent his declining years.

WILLIAM R. PARKER

BOBBITT, MARY REED. *A Bibliography of Etiquette Books Published in America Before 1900.* New York, The New York Public Library, 1947. 35 pp., double column. 10 x 7 inches. Five hundred copies reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library. 35 cents.

The study of etiquette books is necessary for the student of social history and the writer of historical fiction, and it is also a charming field for the specialized collector of Americana. They have not, however, had available a general finding list of this subject until now, though Eleazar Moody's *School of Good Manners* has been separately treated and the dozen reference works mentioned at the end of the preface record certain of the more important titles.

The author defines etiquette books as "those books which give more or less in detail a code based on the conduct of the 'best people.'" She has therefore omitted from her bibliography most of the books of courtesy, of civility, of parental advice such as Lord Chesterfield's famous letters and all the letter-writers. Besides the pure etiquette books, she has included a few essays, addresses, lectures, and sermons on etiquette when they seemed important in forming the social customs of their times.

The list is arranged alphabetically by author or by title for anonymous works, with cross references for pseudonyms. Full titles with abbreviated imprints are given for the earliest editions, the titles of later editions being abbreviated or omitted, followed by brief imprint, collation, and size in centimetres when known. A careful examination of the twenty-five largest collections is supplemented by additions from the Union Catalogues of the Library of Congress for a total of eighty-two libraries, each indicated by the Library of Congress symbol. There are 596 titles under 236

consecutive numbers and a complete title index makes the bibliography quickly and easily usable.

This compact finding list must have cost the compiler many hours of arduous but delightful work which was well worth doing, for it will be of the greatest help to all bibliographers, librarians, historical students, collectors, and dealers interested in this attractive and sometimes hilarious subject. The New York Public Library should have our thanks for publishing in its *Bulletin* and as a separate this and other similar bibliographical studies of the literature of our juvenile ancestors.

R. W. G. Vail

Avanzi, Giannetto. *La bibliografia italiana [1921-1946]. Seconda edizione interamente rifatta, con tre appendice e una aggiunta.* Roma, Istituto nazionale per le relazioni culturali con l'estero, 1946. xxiv, 570 pp. 6½ x 4 inches.

Avanzi's bibliography of Italian bibliography, published by the National Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries at Rome in its unnumbered series entitled *Bibliografie italiane,* may be described as a systematic and analytical, annotated guide to the principal writings in the fields of book arts, bibliography, and library economy in Italy during the period 1921-1946, being a complete revision and expansion of the first edition in 1941. Under the title *Bibliotheca bibliographica italica,* Giuseppe Ottino and Giuseppe Fumagalli had prepared the catalogue of writings in the fields of the book arts, bibliography, and library economy printed in Italy and regarding Italy printed abroad, published in two volumes: volume one at Rome in 1889, and volume two at Turin in 1895; with four supplements, the first two by Ottino and the latter two by Emilio Calvi, published from 1896 to 1902, covering the later literature through 1900, there being in the whole work a total of 8,259 entries. The manual by Giuseppe Fumagalli entitled *La bibliografia,* published at Rome in 1923, contains a catalogue of 1,039 titles, about three-fifths being a selection of the principal works described in Ottino and Fumagalli, and two-fifths supplementary titles for the period 1901-1923. Continuing these two works, Avanzi begins with the year 1921 as marking the revival of bibliographical studies after a dormant period 1915-1920 caused by the first World War. In 1929, the World Congress of Libraries and Bibliography held in the second half of June, beginning at Rome and concluding at Venice, gave a great impetus to bibliographical work in Italy.

In September, 1943, the main part of Avanzi's second edition with indexes was in page proof (through page 519), when circumstances originating in the second World War delayed publication until the latter part of 1946. On pages 521-570 are the supplementary entries from the middle of 1943 to the middle of 1946 with a separate index by authors, the main part having indexes by authors, titles of anonymous works, subjects, and series. In all there are 1,509 numbered entries, there being some sixty additional interpolated numbers and more than four hundred minor entries under about sixty numbers, bringing the total of the entries to about two thousand.

The main work, as well as the supplement, is arranged in the following groups: (1) Book arts (including history of typography); (2) Bibliography; (3) Libraries and library economy; (4) Legislation relative to books and printing, copyright, censorship, condemned books; (5) Technical literature of the graphic arts. To the main work, there are three appendices as follows: (I) Incunabula catalogues, about 150 entries; (II) Catalogues of book expositions, exhibits, and fairs, more than 120 entries; and (III) Periodicals devoted to book arts and bibliography, 61 titles. For the first three groups, the Italian terms Bibliologia, Bibliografia, and Biblioteche e Biblioteconomia seem more closely related and apt than do the English equivalents.

Aware of the great tendency to publish bibliographical contributions in periodical publications and serials rather than separately, Avanzi has made every effort to include these so far as they seem of any importance. The section of bibliographies relating to persons has been subject to rigid selection, due to the special work on the subject by Avanzi printed in *L'Italia che scrive* during 1943 and 1946 and separately. Library catalogues, except those of incunabula, catalogues of periodicals as well as general or partial indexes to a single magazine, antiquarian catalogues, and facsimile reproductions of manuscripts as well as of bibliographical rarities have all been deliberately excluded.

Current notes on bibliographical work in Italy as well as abroad prepared by Avanzi appear in the monthly *L'Italia che scrive*.

Avanzi, in the second edition of his guide, has established a place for himself as a continuer of the sound tradition of Italian bibliographical work.

JAMES B. CHILDS

Letters to the Editor

Editor, PAPERS of the Bibliographical
Society of America

Sir:

I have read with much interest the article by John Francis McDermott on "Banvard's Mississippi Panorama Pamphlets" in the spring number of your PAPERS. Your readers may be pleased to know that copies of most of the pamphlets described by Dr. McDermott are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. Several of the booklets came to the society from the estate of Miss Edith Banvard shortly after her death in February, 1948. Under the terms of her will, the society acquired her large and valuable collection of scrapbooks, clippings, letters, pamphlets, and other material relating to her father's career, as well as some of his original paintings.

Of the descriptions of the panorama listed by Dr. McDermott, the society has those published in Boston in 1847, in London in 1848, and in New York in 1862. In addition it has a second version of the text (cloth bound) published by Putnam in Boston in 1847 (48 p.). An early version of the "Adventures of the Artist" gives special significance to the latter edition. Dr. McDermott believes that the *Adventures* was not "elevated to the status of independent issue as a pamphlet" until Chapman's London edition of 1849 appeared. The Minnesota Historical Society, however, has an 1848 edition published in London by W. J. Golbourn. Copies of the Paris edition of 1850 and of the booklet issued in London by Reed and Pardon also are in the society's collection.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON
Editor, *Minnesota History*

Sir:

Mr. Colton Storm, in his most generous review of my book *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting*, has drawn attention to one apparently misleading passage in it which, as an Englishman addressing American readers, I should particularly wish to clarify. "The absence," he wrote, "of certain American names from the index is a little discouraging, particularly in view of Mr. Carter's warning (p. 107) that he mentions only books

he respects. This statement carries the implication that the author does *not* respect the unmentioned books."

In my preface I explained why "many, and many important, names and collections and happenings" found no place in a book whose terms of reference were strictly limited; and in the passage on p. 107 to which Mr. Storm refers, my words were "since I have throughout chosen to cite *as examples* of anything [bibliographical] only such books as I respect, it may be taken that these, *though of course by no means only these*, are exempt from the caveat which" etc. (italics *ad hoc*). I can see, however, that there was room for some misapprehension here, even though the individual reference books cited as examples of their different kinds clearly could not add up to more than a mere handful from a potentially long list. They ought, of course, to have been the ideally representative examples, in which case no doubt many more would have been American. But my choice was limited by working use, if respect was to mean anything.

Mr. Storm charitably added that "possibly it is unfamiliarity rather than disrespect which has caused the omissions." Since ignorance is, I hope, pardonable, while chauvinism is not, let me assure his readers that this hypothesis is correct.

JOHN CARTER